

JPRS-UPA-87-024

28 AUGUST 1987



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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

28 AUGUST 1987

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## SOVIET UNION POLITICAL AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

Kolbin Addresses Meeting on Role of People's Deputies, Communists (G. V. Kolbin; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 29 Mar 87) .....	1
TV Coverage of Former Georgian Secretary Khabeishvili Trial (Guram Imerlishvili; ZARYA VOSTOKA, 22 Feb 87) .....	14
Georgian People's Control Commission Work Criticized (ZARYA VOSTOKA, 10 Feb 87) .....	22

#### MEDIA, PROPAGANDA

Kazakh Propagandists Participate in PRAVDA Roundtable (G. Dildyayev, T. Yesilbayev; PRAVDA, 7 May 87) .....	27
--	----

#### RELIGION

Unregistered Baptist 'Illegal' Activities Viewed (N. Ganyukhina, et al.; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 19 Feb 87) .....	33
--	----

#### CULTURE

Soviet-American Film Initiative Effort Organized (Natalya Vasilyeva; MOSCOW NEWS, No 26, 5-12 Jul 87) ....	39
Discord in Moscow Theaters Threatens Experiment (B. Lyubimov; PRAVDA, 24 May 87) .....	40
Viewers Pollled on Reaction to Film 'Repentance' (Igor Tomberg; PARTIYNOYE SLOVO, No 8, Apr 87) .....	44

New Moscow Film on Youth Praised by Critic as 'Profound' (Yuriy Gladilshchikov; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 13 May 87) .	48
Kazakh Films Lack Contemporaneity, Local Themes (Asanali Ashimov; SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN, 29 May 87) ....	52
Moldavian Film Studio Progressive in Training Directors (Emil Lotyanu Interview; SOVetskAYA MOLDAVIYA, 11 Apr 87)	53
Film Directors Receive Response To Appeal for More Film (MOSCOW NEWS, No 27, 12-19 Jul 87) .....	56
Bulgakov's 'Dog's Heart' Premieres in Moscow Theater (Konstantin Rudnitsky; MOSCOW NEWS, No 26, 5-12 Jul 87) .	57
Drama Studios on Increase (Alexander Svobodin; MOSCOW NEWS, No 27, 12-19 Jul 87) ..	59
Ukrainian Novel Published in Russian After 20 Years (L. Terakopyan; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 13 May 87) .....	60
'Forgotten' Writer Dobychin Rehabilitated (Marina Chukovskaya; OGONEK, No 12, Mar 87) .....	66
Plea Made for Leaving Uzbek Cultural Institute in Place (G. Pugachenkova, et al.; SOVetskAYA KULTURA, 5 Mar 87) .	75
Moscow Holds First Art Auction (Nadezhda Nazarevskaya; MOSCOW NEWS, No 27, 12-19 Jul 87)	79

#### SOCIAL ISSUES

RSFSR Education Minister on School Reform, Other Issues (G. P. Veselov; SOVetskAYA ROSSIYA, 3 Jun 87) .....	80
Alma-Ata Riots Point of Departure for Talks on Ethnic Relations (K. Duyseyev, et al.; SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN, 23 May 87)	88
Alcohol Sales Down, Moonshine Up in Kazakhstan (V. Yevdokimov; SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN, 7 May 87) .....	97
Drug Cases in Tashkent Oblast Discussed (T. Saydahmedov, S. Abdushamayev; SOVET OZBEKISTONI, 9 Apr 87) .....	98
Reform of Uzbek Schools Urged To Improve Study of Russian (A. Khudayberganov; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 19 Feb 87) .....	101

#### REGIONAL ISSUES

Construction of Dam To Protect Leningrad From Floods Discussed (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 25 Feb 87) .....	104
---	-----

Official Favors Construction, by N. Vlasov	104
Arguments Against Dam	108
Environmental Damage by Kirishi Plant Assessed (I. Sidorov; LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, 3, 5 Jun 87) .....	111
Public Protest Forces Closing	111
Plant Operation History Examined	112
KaSSR Transportation, Communications Reviewed (Editorial; QAZAQSTAN KOMMUNISI, No 2, Feb 87) .....	117

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KOLBIN ADDRESSES MEETING ON ROLE OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES, COMMUNISTS

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Mar 87 pp 1-3

[Speech by Kazakhstan CP Central Committee First Secretary G.V. Kolbin at a meeting of a party group of deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSSR: "Raising the Role and Effectiveness of Communist Deputies"]

[Excerpts] A communist in the soviet should carry out party policy in life and reinforce the objective general laws of increasing its guiding role. The issue is to take all aspects of the life of society under party influence, especially at the stage of major changes in all areas of social life.

To display concern for the people means to remember constantly that the interests of the people are above your own and that your destiny is that each voter feels radical changes in his own life, that each can see constant improvement in food supply and feel the concern for improving working and living conditions, housing issues, has the opportunity of obtaining a plot of land in a collective garden etc. In short, that each feels that the social equity in the name of which the Great October Socialist Revolution occurred will triumph.

Today, when the discussion concerns raising the role of the communist in the soviet, each of us must first and foremost demonstrate concern for the realization of those broad constitutional rights that are allotted to the soviets. It is important to delimit clearly herein the functions of party and soviet organs so as to ensure the independent functioning of the soviets, rule out their substitution and raise the efficacy of their activity.

After the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th Party Congress, the communists working in the soviets have done much to resolve the tasks advanced by the party. Work is now being organized in such a manner so as to refrain from the practice, extant for many years, of summing up work within the framework of territories. That is, conditions are being eliminated where the local soviets of people's deputies, as a rule, did not always have an influence on the state of affairs in their territory, but just summed up the results of activity carried out, so to speak, vertically. That is, the local soviet could not always influence or manage the processes horizontally within the framework of their own territory, and enterprises could at certain times work both well and poorly. But this can only be judged by the results.

Today the state of affairs is changing in the direction of ensuring a controllable process with all indicators of socio-economic development within the framework of the rayon, city, oblast and republic overall. The task is being posed of using each of these indicators not only for analysis, but for forecasting and the timely calculation of the desired result. It is now becoming important to have an influence in a timely manner on intermediate results so that, "widening bottlenecks," the necessary end result can be ensured. The task is being posed of all executives of soviet organs and operational economic subdivisions "shooting at the same target" in the name of achieving a common result. After all, it is no secret that for many years this or that region or this or that executive of a party, soviet or operational economic organ had, so to speak, his own "passions." Some were attracted by the erection of prestigious facilities, others were attracted by gigantomania in the construction of farms, and still others placed their interest in the breeding of ducks. In short, much was done unilaterally.

Today, to the extent of the improvement in management processes and, in particular, the management of indicators of socio-economic development, the organs of Gosplan and other subdivisions of the soviets are beginning to occupy a larger place in the resolution of comprehensive tasks. This is generating several positive results.

The fundamental conclusion in evaluating what has been done, however, consists of the fact that with the existing capabilities and reserves in the republic, not all have become aware of the necessity of restructuring in the interests of the workers and all of the people and the necessity of increasing all-round and equivalent efforts to replenish nationwide property. Dependent inclinations have not enriched the nation's coffers and have led to stagnation and even crises in the republic itself. In August of last year, the CPSU Central Committee thus deemed the animal husbandry work conducted in the republic unsatisfactory. Several changes of course took place after such a harsh but objective analysis, which have already begun to make themselves felt in 1987. The population is beginning to be better supplied with meat and dairy products. But after all, these long-anticipated and essential changes ensued not out of the good and conscious will of the executives of the republic and the corresponding subdivisions of the agro-industry, but rather upon the insistence, the demand, if you will, the compulsion of the party Central Committee.

Fulfilling obligations before the people under compulsion, from above, "under the stick," so to speak, is a blow to the trust of the people who have elected the leader to the highest organ of people's power. And even if he is Solomon, able to take the stars from the heavens, if he tears himself from the earth, from the working people, works at half effort, not from the soul, not from the conscience, but under compulsion, he ultimately loses the trust of the people and the trust of the party, since the party and the people are one.

The party expresses the interests of the popular masses and does everything so as to bring them maximum satisfaction. One must know how to serve the people, and one also have an irrepressible desire to justify the trust and faith of the people, obtain their support, and affirm daily and convincingly that the

communist is a person who does everything so that people are happy. We must make use of existing capabilities to the fullest extent and in all directions so that the efficacy of the work of the soviets is raised appreciably under conditions of restructuring and a developing democracy.

Today, when our whole party is conducting an exacting review of its party affairs, we should understand clearly that the work of communists in the soviet is an important sphere of party activity, and should also be at the center of the exacting review being conducted by our party since the conference and the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

We must realize that much of what is positive that has recently been achieved in the activity of the soviet organs in no way signifies that all reserves have been put into action. There are still very many unutilized ones. And this should be a preoccupation of the party group in the soviet.

The selection of the main areas in the work of the soviet organ and the preparation of proposals for submission at the sessions of the oblast or Supreme Soviet is not an abstract question. It should proceed from the definition of the role of the soviet in resolving fundamental tasks within the territorial framework of the republic, oblast, city or rayon in connection with the activity of party, trade-union, Komsomol and business organs. In other words, a functional role should be defined, its own problems should be "dispensed", so to speak, to each of these organs, the resolution of which would make it possible to ensure the proper comprehensive economic, social and cultural development of the region, proceeding from statewide interests and the interests of the citizens residing in the territory of the soviet.

With just such a regard for this approach at subsequent sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSSR, we should determine the issues arising out of the large-scale program tasks in the development of our republic.

One of those issues is the work on strengthening international education. When we speak of education in general, including international, we should have a clear conception of the fact that today many many executives of soviet and business subdivisions do not have a competent mastery of the educational process, and they are diverted by the fulfillment of plan indicators and only try to have an influence on the human factor in this regard without relation to the directions of communist education, if only they make the plan. The chiefs of shops and construction administrations, the executives of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, the rectors of higher educational institutions, the directors of technical institutes and schools, all of them teach something to the people entrusted to them, and yet not one of them bears ultimate responsibility for educational work, especially in the area of reinforcing the friendship of peoples and raising the level of international education.

International education as a political concept and as a process is based on the mutual respect of the people of various nations. The relation of the individuals of various nations among each other is a moral and political category, and in the process of education we should conceive clearly that every first person, who is at the head of a large or a small collective, bears responsibility on a political plane for the ultimate results of this work.



In this regard, the necessity arises of personal strict accountability for ensuring the international education of people. You and I should all understand well that if a person does not possess the essential political qualities, then according to Marxist-Leninist evaluations he should not lead the work of a collective, because political qualities of the individual are fundamental and decisive in advancing him to leadership work. Questions arise herein of just what the true political qualities of these leaders are in collectives where unhealthy manifestations on a national basis occurred to this or that extent in December of last year. In order not to have a shred of doubt on this issue in the future, we should see to it that the feeling of genuine friendship among peoples is reinforced and the traditions of socialist internationalism are multiplied in every collective without exception. We should keep in mind that, according to the general opinion set forth at the 7th Plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee, there occurred in the republic just demonstrations of individuals with extremist inclinations of a nationalistic bent who incited a certain portion of the young people who were insufficiently educated in an international regard. The overall body of the people of all nationalities not only made an objective evaluation of the essence of the events that transpired, but also, unambiguously condemning them, actively participated in restoring order, opposing the displays of hooliganism with restraint, steadfastness, workers' solidarity and a determination to defend socialist values and the unfading friendship of peoples won by Great October.

Under conditions of the internationalization of all aspects of the life of society, particular attention must be devoted to the more rapid resolution of social issues, especially erasing the boundary between the city and the town. I therefore especially want to single out the question of the social restructuring of the village. We must learn how to manage processes in such a manner that the organization of work on the socio-economic development of the village is also ever more "aimed at the same target," that the solution of this problem is not reduced simply to the creation of "pretty corners" in our republic, wonderfully formulated individual settlements. The main thing here is that all work be subordinated to the ultimate result--the supply of permanent personnel for the enterprises of agricultural production, so that over the course of the 12th Five-Year Plan we are able refrain from diverting the workers of industrial enterprises for collecting the harvest. We must smooth out negative demographic consequences to the maximum, so as to bring the emigration of the rural population to a minimum. Approaches must be found in this regard for the more efficient utilization of capital investment aimed at the social restructuring of the village. We must know where to build housing, heated garages and mechanical shops for kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and where to put reservoirs, kindergartens or a music school etc. That is, everything that solves the problem of providing the village with needed people and raising their overall educational level and questions of the domestic, medical and trade support for the population and the development of the service sphere.

We have posed the task: as early as the upcoming year, to refrain from the import of 16,000 combine operators into the republic during the mass grain harvest. We must learn to utilize systematically the labor resources on

kolkhozes and sovkhoses. This is really an issue in the summer when the farms suffer an acute shortage of people, while in the winter the existing personnel are not utilized fully in work. The persistent necessity arises herein that, for example, construction work be conducted especially intensively after the harvest has been collected, including during the winter. After all, industrial and social facilities are constructed in the cities all year round, including in the winter. The distribution of people's workloads by seasons ensures their more rational utilization, a higher level of wages and, consequently, their consolidation in the towns and the improvement of the solution of all social issues. And everything here depends on the managers, people's deputies and communists. This work has been begun today, and the matter consists of we in the rural locales building freestanding cottages with the minimal amenities--central heating and water supply--on every farm and in every year of the five-year plan. All of these issues should also be reflected in the activity of the soviet organs in reviewing them at sessions and convocations of the executive committees. This form of consolidating personnel in the towns and the formation of stable labor collectives on kolkhozes and sovkhoses is a component of work style and the improvement of work with personnel, which questions were the topic of discussion at our recent plenum. And of course, Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the republic Comrades E.S. Karbovskiy, P.V. Savelyev, L.I. Pingarev, K.N. Musin, N. Kipshakbayev and S.U. Dzhandosov, responsible for the resolution of social issues in the town and the "undoing" of the problem of labor resources, must be more active in the restructuring process and submit appropriate proposals for the consideration of the Supreme Soviet of the republic.

For these purposes, we must also prepare in good time a session of the Supreme Soviet devoted to questions of the production of consumer goods. We cannot moreover be satisfied on this issue with just "some" changes, but should alter the state of affairs on this problem sharply for the better.

In 1986 the republic set about the realization of the Comprehensive Program of Development for the Production of Commodities. In the first year of the current five-year plan, however, we have been working considerably below our capabilities. An inertia of backwardness is taking shape.

The overall body of goods produced increased by only 1 percent, average wages by 1.3 percent, and commodity turnover grew by 6.1 percent. In the face of an average annual growth rate of non-productive goods of 4.4 percent as planned by the all-union comprehensive program, its increase was just 3.6 percent.

The reduction in the sale of wine and liquor items of 847 million rubles last year was only one-third covered by other goods.

We have declared a merciless war against liquor consumption, and at the same time we are not making substantive additions to the production of other goods to cover the effective demand of the population.

Today the great weight of resolving tasks for supplying the population with essential commodities rests on the enterprises of the sectors in industrial group A. We should account for consumer goods by calculating how many are produced per ruble of the wage fund. And deduct from the production volume

that portion of it that constitutes products of enterprises of the light and food industries and other processing industries that produce commodities only for the people, and compare them with the enterprises that produce goods for the needs of the national economy. Their volume of consumer goods is compared with the wage funds. Such an approach would doubtless make it necessary to evaluate critically the activity of many enterprises and, specifically, the deputies of the Supreme Soviet that work at these enterprises.

Today's session of the Supreme Soviet considered the question "The Activity of the Committee of People's Control of the Kazakh SSR." This is one of the most important questions of the ongoing restructuring. Today the interests of the cause demand the immeasurably greater influence of committees and groups of people's control on all spheres of the economic and social life of the republic and their active role in averting and eliminating shortcomings and violations.

The session defined a program of measures that should be rigorously embodied in life. The individuals responsible for this sector in the republic Council of Ministers and the oblast ispolkoms are properly obligated to undertake the fulfillment of its requirements.

A particular issue is the work of the permanent commissions of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR.

Analysis of the activity of these commissions shows that a great desire to "brush aside" the entrusted obligations in their work--to just discuss and put an end to something "for show."

Over the recent period since the elections, we are observing some positive trends in questions of the struggle with criminal manifestations, drunkenness and alcoholism. But could we say that this is the contribution of the members of the Commission on Legislative Proposals of the Supreme Soviet? Is the commission associated with these results? Although it was "on the scene," so to speak, and discussed issues and made decisions, it had no appreciable influence on the state of affairs in protecting public order, and its conclusions and proposals were not reinforced with practical measures.

A desire to have an effect on something through the process of discussion alone is clearly discerned not only in this commission, but the other permanent commissions of the Supreme Soviet as well, and naturally the proper results are not ensured. Of course, to make an indiscriminate evaluation is to permit a lack of objectivity for all commissions.

The Commission on Construction and the Building Materials Industry has become more active. The members of the commission are now actively included in the realization of the Housing-91 program.

The Permanent Commission on Issues of the Labor and Domestic Life of Women, with the preparation of the issue "The Work of the Soviets of Taldy-Kurgan Oblast on Organizing the Preschool Education of Children," revealed that the problem of the supply of preschool children's institutions, especially in rural areas, is being resolved poorly. Urgent measures were immediately



adopted to improve the state of affairs. Even before the discussion of the report at a session of the commission and the presidium, a joint decree of the oblast committee and the oblast ispolkom was adopted on measures to strengthen the rate of construction of children's preschool institutions in 1986-1988.

We must have the commissions work creatively. For instance, the same commission that is occupied with questions of the labor and domestic life of women and the protection of maternity and childhood could organize a truly mass holiday on International Women's Day similar to the recently held gathering of newlyweds. Unfortunately, however, the gathering was not held at the initiative of the commission of the Supreme Soviet. And could this commission not determine those areas of work that would infuse a fresh spirit into domestic support, ease the domestic labor of women, their medical care, the cause of protecting motherhood and childhood, and display concern for large families?

More simply, we can and should approach the work of each permanent commission creatively. And the communists who are charged with conducting the leadership of the commissions should see their special role therein to ensure the ultimate result and responsibility for its achievement before the party and the people. The workers of the apparatus of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet--Deputy Chairman of the Presidium Vera Vasilyevna Sidorova and Secretary of the Presidium Sovetkhan Seytkaliyevich Nurpeisov, elected at today's session--should also find their special role herein. The workers of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet apparatus should have enough strength and knowledge for all. And it would be correct if we were to hear periodically at party group sessions the communists that head the permanent commissions and answer to the Supreme Soviet for the efficacy of their work.

Certain communist deputies--first secretaries Comrade Yu.K. Sheyko of the Ust-Kamenogorsk City Committee, Zh.A. Abugaliyev of the Balkhash and others--still do not feel responsible and do not make the requisite demands of executives who violate the laws of environmental protection.

Or take the Commission on the Agro-Industrial Complex. In 1986 and the first quarter of this year, four questions were considered. Two of them were on the private subsidiary plots of citizens and two on the incorporation of scientific and technical achievements.

This commission paid no attention to questions of raising the responsibility of the Soviets of People's Deputies for improving the supply of food products to the population, the incorporation of progressive forms of organization and payment of labor in the sectors of the APK [agro-industrial complex], internal economic accountability, the development of initiative and independence at kolkhozes and sovkhoses, the stabilization of labor collectives and the social development of the towns. And after all, these issues require deep study, inquiry, the development of proposals and their realization.

The work of the soviets largely bears the features of economic approaches. For instance, an oblast soviet is a major operational economic mechanism, guided by an executive committee, chairman, deputies and an apparatus. These officials are obligated to resolve in a concrete and efficient manner all

issues that arise in all of those areas that are under their purview. And this is difficult to achieve if this work is addressed only at sessions, no matter how actively these sessions transpire. The efficacy of the work of the permanent commissions is of no small importance herein. They must constantly take the pulse of economic life. And this means to respond in timely fashion to the needs of the national economy, assist in finding well-founded economic solutions by the soviets and their executive organs and systematically monitor the fulfillment of these solutions.

Why then do many chairmen of the permanent commissions of people's deputies tolerate a formalistic attitude toward the obligations charged to them and conduct the leadership and management of these directives superficially? Who should have an influence on them? If they are not accountable to the ispolkom, but to the soviet itself, then the soviet is obliged to influence and correct them. The leaders of these commissions must obviously be heard more often at the sessions, and not formalistically, but on the essence of the organization of work.

The soviets of people's deputies in the political system of our state are the authorized organs of people's power. Their democratic principles are so deep that every deputy is answerable only to those who elected him--the people. But does this mean that the deputy can fulfill his obligations in any old fashion obliged, as they say, to no one? After all, when the time comes for reporting to the voters, he usually reports on general results achieved in the soviet overall, to which he personally could have no connection whatsoever. And you don't ask any more of him, and as a rule, it isn't.

An especial role in making the soviet and every deputy more active belongs to the party group. The party accomplishes its leadership of the soviets, as well as all public organizations, through the communists working in them. In electing communists to the society, the people place in him special hopes both for the fulfillment of orders and the organization of the work of the soviet organs. They know that the party has enormous political and organizational experience, and this means that a communist on the soviet should be the bearer of this experience. It is no accident that many party leaders have been elected to the oblast and Supreme soviets, including the secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the secretaries of the oblast, city and rayon party committees. This is a display of the great trust of the masses of workers and voters in our party. And every party member and deputy is obliged to justify this trust with honor.

Communists in the soviet are united in the party group so as to unify their efforts to conduct party political policy in the state organ, and they are called upon to see that the soviet implements power overall in accordance with the goals of the party for the communist transformation of society.

All methods of party influence on the activity of the soviets must be utilized to raise their efficacy and eliminate elements of formalism. These are the requirements of the times. They are made of all party committees. And especially of communist deputies, through whom the party accomplishes its guiding role in the soviets. Your example is important here, comrades, your responsible attitude toward the duties of a deputy. You are called upon to



bring organized principles to the work of the soviet, to bring together all of the people's choices around yourselves and stimulate and direct their creative initiative.

It is namely this, comrades, that is our chief partywide mission in leading the soviets. We should see that their power as fixed in the Constitution is constantly and universally expressed in the substance and in the style of their activity.

If the work of the communist deputies to the Supreme Soviet is considered from this viewpoint, it still does not meet growing requirements. It is clear to everyone, for example, that much depends on a communist elected to some acting organ of the soviet in the sense both of organizing the work of this organ and on the plane of displaying personal initiative and combining the efforts of the deputies of other organs of both the republic and the oblast, city or rayon soviets. And such initiative does not contradict democracy and legislative provisions. For instance, two or several of the permanent commissions of the soviet can where necessary and at their own initiative hold a joint session for the purpose of coordinating actions in solving urgent problems.

And this means that the field of party influence of communist leaders and members of these commissions on many deputies in the management of problems is expanded.

Take the Credentials Committee. Its functions are strictly outlined in the Statutes and the soviet. But the rights granted to this commission are not used in practice, as is testified to by many examples cited above where deputies of the Supreme and oblast soviets have been released according to their own declarations, notwithstanding the fact that they have compromised themselves and have undermined the trust of the people. And proposals to recall these deputies who have compromised themselves are submitted not by the Credentials Commission, but by other organs, sometimes by compulsion. Couldn't the chairman of the Credentials Commission in this instance (and he usually chooses the chief of the Party Organizational Work Department of the Central Committee, the oblast committee etc.) have some influence to raise the efficiency of its work? Of course he could. And not by exceeding rights and not via, for instance, hearing the reports of communist deputies or other non-party members from other commissions at sessions of the Credentials Commission, but by methods of party political influence at his personal initiative. It is namely the force of personal reputation as a communist and as chief of the Department of Party Organizational Work. The chairmen of these commissions can and should have an influence on the communist deputies for the purpose of raising their activeness and a more responsible attitude toward matters.

This requirement relates to an equal extent to every party member elected to a soviet, and first and foremost to those of them that are entrusted with leadership work in them. Only on the basis of high mutual exactingness and demandingness will the communist deputies be able to conduct party policy consistently and reinforce the reputation of the party and the organ of the soviet to which they have been elected by the people.

The work of the Supreme Soviet and the oblast executive committees is a particular question. Their task is to ensure the fulfillment of the session resolutions as well as their own, along with the management of economic and social problems on the territory within the jurisdiction of the soviet.

The efficacy of the work of the soviets has increased recently. Questions are also being submitted for discussion that require a radical improvement of affairs. Concern is being manifested for increasing the authoritativeness of the decisions being made. They are becoming more specific, with an indication of the executors, and are reinforced with administrative measures and the systemic handling of problems. This is good. But much here must be begun anew and substantively corrected.

In considering the activity of the executive committees in this aspect, in the period of universally expanded restructuring, it is essential to check current practice against the requirements of the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the 27th Party Congress and the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. An especial place is allotted herein for the utmost satisfaction of day-to-day consumer demand in support of the population. The soviets of people's deputies must at all levels take specific steps to improve the production and sale of industrial commodities and develop the service sphere. What we are speaking of--food products, consumer goods, the service sphere--are questions in the daily life of millions and millions of people. The store, the cafeteria, laundry, the dry cleaner--people are there every day. What can they buy? How are they met? How do they speak with them? How much time do they spend on all types of domestic errands? People will judge our work to a great extent according to how we resolve these issues. They will judge strictly and demandingly. And we should always remember this.

It is precisely with such an approach that the executive committees, chairmen and deputy chairmen should organize the work of trade, domestic services, local industry, municipal services and the corresponding organs. The discussion concerns the fact that concern be manifested for the specific individual and his needs and requirements. This is the essence of the social policies of our party. The execution of these policies is charged to the local soviets, and the communists working in them should feel responsibility for it.

I would especially like to speak of the activity of the Ministry of Education and the departments of popular education. The Permanent Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic on Popular Education and Culture, headed by Ye.M. Asanbayev, is engaged in the resolution of questions of popular education. This commission has more than 20 deputies.

Enough time has already passed since the beginning of school reform. The reform of schools is not a one-time affair. We should constantly remember the fact that we are dealing with living people, children, and strive to raise considerably the level of their labor education.

In this regard, the task has been posed of bringing schools and production closer. This has both educational and political significance.

All Soviet youth should enter into independent life having completed class tempering. We should display concern for the all-round education of the young person of the future generation, our replacements, and for the cultivation of devotion to the Motherland and communist ideals in spirit. We must be aware that the ever growing standard of living of people and a rise in their material welfare should be accompanied by rational needs and the cessation of any unbridled manifestations in the consumption of the benefits of society for any individual.

In cultivating sensible needs, we must lean to a greater extent not to the acquisition of prestige items, but to spiritual growth, the development among young men and women of the need to hear music, to be attracted to reading and the theater, to work constantly on raising one's general educational level. We should oppose the influence of bourgeois ideology as propagated by "thingism" as the highest good of mankind with another thrust--the cultivation of highly cultured youth capable of perceiving true spiritual values and a love of labor.

Some steps have been taken recently in the organization of work on fulfilling the requirements of reform in schools and labor education. Work has begun on assembling subscribers to institutions of higher learning from among the youth working at enterprises and on kolkhozes and sovkhoses. But this is a timid beginning. More aggressive measures are required in this area.

We must keep in mind that the workers in education under the guidance of the executive committees should find ways of influencing the utmost consolidation of youth in the sphere of production after the completion of school, especially in agricultural regions. The appropriate conditions should be created for their spiritual growth, increasing their education, improving their professional skills and their cultural relaxation.

Until now, the process of educating the student youth, especially those who have completed basic schooling, is often under the sway of departmental interests. The system of professional and technical education has "absorbed" all of those school graduates that have already acquired the profession of, say, mechanic, in a general educational school. They were accepted so as to fulfill the educational plan, studied according to their own program and, possibly, actually did raise their qualifications a little higher than what they had received in general educational schools. But this could after all be done the way it is done at all enterprises, via raising qualifications directly in the sphere of production, on the job.

The direct obligation of soviet organs, the Supreme Soviet of the republic and the oblast, city and rayon soviets of people's deputies is a further increase of their role in economic and cultural construction. They are called upon to ensure the comprehensive development of the economy of the country in the localities, erect a solid barrier to departmentalism and display concern for the fuller satisfaction of the aspirations of the people and improve their support.



It should be kept in mind that many ministries still try to resolve issues without the local soviets and frequently do not devote the proper attention to the construction of housing or social, cultural and domestic facilities. In this regard it is necessary not only to criticize, but to find ways and methods of influence that would eliminate these negative manifestations.

Now, during the period after the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and during the period of expanded universal restructuring, both the oblast soviets and the Supreme Soviet should determine a program of actions. The development of measures for fulfilling all of the tasks of the 12th Five-Year Plan requires especial attention.

And a particular issue is the universal improvement of our oblast centers, culture and the outward appearance of all cities and settlements. We should take all steps to transform every oblast and every city into a well-equipped and green settlement and do everything so that the 70th Anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, and then the all-union party conference, are met with dignity, that the cities and settlements of the republic compete on a friendly basis in this regard with the best cities of our country.

The Supreme Soviet of the republic, the oblast soviets and their chairmen and deputies must display enhanced concern for the work of the commissions, such as those in the struggle against drunkenness, traffic safety, the affairs of minors and others.

It is essential that the substance of their work ensure the solution of the most topical problems that have an effect on the ultimate results.

The commissions for the struggle against drunkenness of the oblast soviet ispolkoms, by way of example, as well as those of the city soviets, have recently made their work somewhat more active. But this is just the beginning. Everything must be done so that the use of alcoholic beverages in the republic is reduced to a considerable extent. More consistent concern must be displayed in relation to those individuals who are unable to control their own behavior. Out-patient treatment must be organized for them, including in secret for some categories. An atmosphere of benevolence toward those who decide to be treated must be created. It is goodwilled counsel and support, not mockery, that should be at the basis of the work of these commissions and all of the society of our republic.

Steps of compulsory treatment for those for whom the illness has become chronic, or even are not aware of their decline, cannot be ruled out. In each specific instance, where the discussion does not concern a crime, it is essential to display a sincere humanism so as to assist the individual in getting on his feet and once again becoming a full member of society.

An atmosphere must be created in the republic where a "culture of liquor consumption" is not propagated, but rather the revealing by all means and methods of the destructive effects of alcohol on the individual in both physical and moral regards. The initiative of the East Kazakhstan Party Oblast Committee merits especial attention on this plane, where they adopted a

resolution that the members of the obkom voluntarily refrain from liquor consumption, and that whoever violates the jointly made resolution is not worthy of elected party office. Such approaches deserve approval.

It is extremely important to strengthen the struggle against harmful traditions, and namely the struggle against such manifestations as where a wedding or funeral, birthday or defense of dissertation is accompanied by lavish liquor consumption.

We must make a fundamental evaluation of those people, especially communists and people's deputies, that continue to hold family ceremonies that last for days with the consumption of alcoholic beverages. This is a worthless tradition. It should be universally rejected and be the topic of discussion at commissions for the struggle against drunkenness. Such remnants should be fundamentally evaluated both along the lines of soviet and economic and of party organs, right up to organizational conclusions in relation to those who maintain these traditions. The organizers of such "functions" must be subjected to the strictest responsibility.

To fight bad traditions does not mean to fight them with incantations and lectures, there should be practical specific steps. These steps are still being taken timidly by those who are charged with work in the struggle against drunkenness, alcoholism and drug addiction. We have many other harmful traditions besides drunkenness. We should define a special program of steps to fight religious prejudice, which is by degrees strengthening its influence. This is not the way.

The communists represented in the soviets of people's deputies should determine steps that would eliminate the prevailing formalism, indifference and bureaucratism in the work of the soviet organs. This must be fought openly, including during meetings with people and the receiving of people by leaders. It is important to remember that the individual comes to the receptions of the executive committee not to visit them, but in connection with the fact that something bothers him, there is a problem or a complaint or a proposal. And immediate and businesslike steps must be taken according to these requests, complaints or proposals. A desire and aspiration to understand the person, to understand as if you yourself were in his position, and assist him within the limits of existing law, if not to correct the root of the problem, at least to somehow ease his fate, is essential. Every communist must be an example in the organization of deputies' receptions and meet with the voters.

12821

CSO: 1830/546

TV COVERAGE OF FORMER GEORGIAN SECRETARY KHABEISHVILI TRIAL

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 22 Feb 87 p 4

[Article by Guram Imerlishvili: "The Mask and the Face of a Double Dealer"; first two paragraphs ZARYA VOSTOKA introduction]

[Text] Yesterday Georgian television showed a film of the judicial process completed a couple of days ago involving the former secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, S. Khabeishvili, which undoubtedly left nobody indifferent. On the television screen we saw before us an entire gallery of renegades who were former officials occupying visible posts who had grossly violated socialist law and entered on the path of deception and corruption. And, of course, the central figure among them was Khabeishvili.

Without repeating what was shown and said on television, we wish to briefly sketch the proceedings for those who did not see it.

The Judicial College for Criminal Affairs of the Georgian SSR Supreme Court included the chairman T. Gersamiya and people's assessors: the leader of the brigade of communist labor of the TEVZ imeni V. I. Lenin, G. Chadunely and scientific associate of the State Museum of Georgia imeni S. Dzhnashia, G. Gasitashvili; with the participation of the deputy procurator of the republic, R. Giligashvili, who seconded the state accusation, and the barrister Ye. Volf, who examined the case of the accusation of S. Khabeishvili, declared him guilty under Part 2 of Article 189 of the Georgian SSR Criminal Code and Part 2 of Article 173 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, namely for repeatedly taking bribes from the former first secretaries of the Signakhskiy, Telavskiy and Akhmetskiy party raykoms, N. Buchukuri, A. Kobaidze and V. Batiashvili, for an overall amount of 75,000 rubles.

The chairman pronounced the sentence: "On behalf of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic...we declared guilty...and sentenced to 15 years incarceration with confiscation of property, with the first 5 years of the punishment to be spent in jail, and the next 10 years in a hard labor colony...after serving the sentence...he will be deprived of the right to hold official management positions for 5 years."

And so the many months of judicial process concerning the former official party worker who has held various positions, including secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, Khabeishvili, are behind him. The time has now come to say what crimes he committed.

When placed side by side these words make one shudder inside. One of the former leaders of a republic party organization and--crime. And such especially deplorable ones as repeated bribe-taking.

We recall Lenin's words to the effect that in a place where there is bribery there can be no discussion of a practical policy.

But yet Khabeishvili was one of those who in his official position was to have implemented party policy. Today, in light of what we have learned about this person, it is necessary to make a significant correction: Khabeishvili only gave the appearance that he was implementing party policy when in fact he had long ago entered on the path of double dealing and direct treachery.

The judicial process clearly elucidated those features of Khabeishvili's personality which predetermined the path he voluntarily selected. Now it was not that path upward that could be seen by everyone which he traveled first in the Komsomol and then in the party, but another path of cynical careerism that was hidden from outside eyes up to a certain point, thinking that the achievement of goals is worth any price, a path of cold and hard self-interest, which betrayed our ideals and besmirched party and civic conscience and honor.

This person apparently considered himself to be almighty. It is no wonder that many people tried to gain his protection with bribes.

Counting on his connections and counting on his own power, this person assumed that now he would be allowed to do anything, that for him there was not and could not be any justice. But then we began to smell ozone in our social atmosphere--and he could not be helped either by his former contacts which previously had seemed so unshakeable, which were coming apart at the seams, nor by the high post occupied by Khabeishvili.

Nothing saved him from his responsibility before the law when his time came. And it came for Khabeishvili in the summer of 1984....

Let us remind the readers of what was announced previously: several years ago immense--both in their scale and in the number of officials involved--machinations were discovered in Signakhskiy Rayon, where they discovered exaggerated reports, falsification of output, and thefts in especially large amounts as well as bribe taking...along with many economic managers, practically all the former management of the rayon, headed by first secretary of the Signakhskiy Party Raykom, N. Buchukury, were held criminally liable.

While he was under surveillance, in June 1984 he sent a written notice to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia in which he stated (and his two subsequent statements also confirmed this) that Khabeishvili had received bribes from him, Buchukury.



It was necessary to go through the information that came in carefully and in a principled way, as they say, painstakingly and thriftily separating the grain from the chaff: the information was too serious. Then, in 1984, the party commission was instructed to investigate certain issues pertaining to the activity of individual leaders, not being satisfied with half-truths but doing everything possible to establish the complete truth. The party commission approached this task with all responsibility. Then a decision was made: to instruct the republic procurator to conduct a further investigation with strict observance of socialist laws.

As a result of this work a criminal suit was filed against Khabeishvili.

A whole parade of bribe takers was brought before the court. Many of them established that Khabeishvili was guilty of bribe taking even while he was secretary of the Kutaisi Party Gorkom.

A former instructor of the gorkom, D. Moniava, according to his statement in the judicial process, "purchased" for himself the position of a division chief by giving bribes to Khabeishvili, who then tried to promote him to the position of the chief of the Kutaisi Internal Affairs Administration, but because of factors beyond his control, he was unable to do this. The witnesses questioned in the judicial process, T. Vardanashvili and K. Ketiladze, who were working at the time under discussion, the former secretary of the Kutaisi gorkom and the latter as the republic minister of internal affairs, showed that they had resolutely rejected Moniava's candidacy because of his doubtful reputation.

As was shown during the course of the preliminary investigation and in the judicial process by the former director of the Kutaisi winery, V. Pruidze, because of the fact that Khabeishvili sharply criticized him he was forced to give him a bribe. Only after this did the leader of the city party organization leave him alone.

A. Topadze, who at one time had been relieved of his position as director of the Kutaisi Sewing Association, once he had given Khabeishvili a bribe, found him to be a powerful protector who, in spite of the available information concerning illegal actions on the part of his protege and in spite of the resistance from the management of the Ministry of Light Industry, still managed once again to assign him to the position of director of the sewing association. Subsequently the merchant Topadze, not without assistance from Khabeishvili, was given the position of director of the large cotton fabric combine under construction in Sachkher, where he continued to work after the facility was put into operation.

In addition to the aforementioned people, during the "Kutaisi period" the former division chief of the Kutaisi Party Gorkom, A. Gelenidze, also gave bribes to Khabeishvili, as he himself stated in the preliminary investigation and during the judicial process.

Many of them passed before the judicial college, all of these "formers." The former general director of the Tbilisi Isani Footwear Production Association,



M. Tsotsoriya; the former chairman of the State Committee for Petroleum Products of the Georgian SSR, A. Ubiriya; the former first secretary of the Makharadzevskiy Party Raykom, O. Teneishvili--who also gave bribes to Khabeishvili, which the television viewers could see by hearing their testimony in court. Mincing no words to expose Khabeishvili, and at the same time frankly revealing themselves, the bribe takers discussed in detail why, when, where and how they gave bribes to the "party leader" who had sunk into corruption. And it was difficult not to believe these words. The more so since, although indirectly, they were confirmed by the testimonies of other witnesses: N. Rukhadze, who replaced Khabeishvili in the post of first secretary of the Khutaisi Gorkom; D. Kartvelishvili, at that time chairman of the Kutaisi Gorispolkom; R. Kontselidze, who previously worked as minister of the food industry; and Dzh. Beridze, who during the period of interest to the court was an organizational chief of the Abkhaz Party Obkom, as well as many others.

But as was announced in court by the state plaintiffs who demanded that a number of episodes be excluded from Khabeishvili's charges, in spite of his, the plaintiff's, personal conviction that they were true, "just convictions and just indications of facts of taking bribes are not enough to declare the person guilty, and it is only possible to judge a person when there is indisputable and objective evidence of his guilt."

Without haste, scrupulously and carefully the judge investigated all circumstances of the case. And when this immense work, both in terms of time and in terms of volume, was completed, the Judicial College of the Republic Supreme Court, on the basis of a presumption of innocence of anybody sitting on the bench of the accused and also on the basis of circumstances that had actually been clarified there were certain doubts about 100 percent proof (we emphasize--100 percent) of a number of cases of giving and taking bribes and it found, as is dictated by the law, in favor of the accused, having excluded these facts from the complaint.

But the court felt that it had absolute proof of six cases in which Khabeishvili took bribes from three people.

But it seems that before discussing what specifically the Judicial College of the Georgian SSR Supreme Court considered Khabeishvili guilty of, one should discuss the following.

For many years having played the role of a pure and honorable leader, an uncompromising (in words only, of course), fighter against negative phenomena, Khabeishvili, to whom was entrusted one of the most responsible areas of party work involved with the implementation of the personnel policy in the republic, used the authority that had been given to him to the detriment of the party and to the detriment of the entire society.

Now that at the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee there was a candid discussion of the costs to the personnel policy in the recent past, the Khabeishvili case can serve as a clear illustration of this. But not only an illustration, but also a warning to all of us. Degenerates like this were discussed at the January Plenum: "Many party members who hold management

positions have ended up outside control and criticism, which has led to failure in their work and serious violations of party ethics. One cannot remain silent about the justifiable disturbance of the workers caused by the behavior of those people invested with the confidence and authority of management workers who are called upon to guard the interests of the state and citizens, who themselves have abused their power, suppressed criticism, made themselves rich, and some of them have even become participants or else organizers of criminal actions."

Khabeishvili, who first worked as first secretary of the Kutaisi Party Gorkom and then as chief of the division for organizational and party work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, and later as its secretary, arranged his interrelations with subordinates according to one well-tested plan which had worked without fail: first he frightened his "victim" with severe criticism of shortcomings in his work, of which there were plenty, and then having "waited" for the subordinate and, finally, having taken a large sum of money from him, he promised his protection. Many bribe givers unanimously stated that Khabeishvili literally ate them up, reproached them at every turn, and endlessly threatened them with all kinds of punishments.

But things were also different at times.

The former first secretary of the Telavskiy Party Raykom, A. Kobaidze, had been friends with Khabeishvili for a long time. Therefore in this case it was especially easy not to stand on ceremony and to approach him without much planning. One time when he was in Telavi Khabeishvili, at that time organizational chief of the Central Committee, without accusations notified Kobaidze that he needed money--5,000 rubles, which he immediately received.

Later when the work of the former leader of the Telavskiy Rayon Party Organization, Kobaidze, who by now, as has already been reported, had been expelled from the ranks of the CPSU, was subjected to sharp criticism by the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, almost the strictest demands were placed on him by none other than Khabeishvili, who by that time was already secretary of the Central Committee. (It should be noted that this was his favorite device--to take extreme maximalist positions when the subject came around to negative phenomena: a kind of protective reaction of a double dealer who is afraid of inadvertently revealing his true face.)

When sometime after the meeting of the bureau of the Central Committee Khabeishvili went to Telavi Kobaidze asked him directly what he meant by the position he took regarding him. Khabeishvili explained that it had been necessary, "the situation demanded it," but now there was no need to fear, everything would be normal. And again he demanded--and received--another 5,000 rubles from Kobaidze.

The former first secretary of the Akhmetskiy Party Raykom, V. Batiashvili, completely confused by the way Khabeishvili would be extremely kind to him at one time and then all of a sudden make sharp critical attacks, after a certain amount of thought decided to give him a bribe. Once when Khabeishvili was in Moscow, Batiashvili delivered right to his dormitory room boxes containing 20

bottles of expensive wine and 20 bottles of cognac. Afraid that Khabeishvili would give the boxes of liquor to somebody without having opened them, Batiashvili told him that there were 10,000 rubles hidden among the bottles.

Later in interrogation during the course of the preliminary investigation Khabeishvili tried to weave a web of lies, first saying that there was no money in the boxes of liquor and then "remembering" that it was there but he had not taken it except for a small amount because when he returned to his dormitory room in the evening the money had disappeared; and then suddenly he began, a little too late, to repent that he had not reported this "shameful fact," as he called it, as if in his life there had not been many others that were just as shameful....

The former first secretary of the Signakhskiy Party Raykom, N. Buchukury, gave Khabeishvili bribes three times for an overall sum of 55,000 rubles. And for this, the "highly placed protector," as long as he could, steered trouble away from Buchukury, who had been bogged down in bribery. Moreover, Khabeishvili tried to drag into the discussion in the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia an unplanned question about the style and methods of "positive" work of Buchukury. Moreover, Khabeishvili inflated the myth of the imaginary "experience" that was supposed to have been accumulated in the Signakhskiy Rayon Party Organization at the time when deception and theft were flourishing, when many not only economic managers, but also leaders of party, soviet, and legal organizations of the rayon were regularly taking bribes.

The question raised on Khabeishvili's initiative concerning the "positive experience" in Buchukury's work in the secretariat of the Central Committee raised so many doubts that it was removed from the agenda.

When several months later it was revealed what had happened at the Anagskiy Winery, where several million rubles had been stolen, Khabeishvili, trying as hard as he could to save Buchukury's job, decided to forestall events: when he arrived in Signakhi, he, as it were, turned things over to his ward--without waiting for the question of the thefts to come up for discussion in the Central Committee Bureau, which might have involved the most serious consequences for Buchukury, it was better to discuss them in the raykom. Having done this, Buchukury was able for a certain amount of time to create the appearance of his own extreme personal uncompromisingness--and thus lack of participation--in the negative happenings in the rayon. To be sure, later the judicial process concerning the thefts at the Anagskiy Winery showed quite convincingly that the illegal machinations here were perpetrated not only with the knowledge, but also on a direct order from Buchukury himself.

And so Khabeishvili did not manage to save him (after all, it was necessary in some way to "earn" the 55,000 rubles he had received!). And Buchukury reminded him of this later, when, after he had already been exposed himself, he suddenly thought about justice, perhaps a little too late, and he himself and others who had been trampled upon in a similar way, and decided to "drag" his former protector along with him. Incidentally, along with Buchukury, who was in prison, this same decision was reached somewhat later (perhaps out of fear of further exposure?) by the former first secretaries of the Akhmetskiy



and Telavskiy raykoms, Batiashvili and Kobaidze, who were free, and also on their own initiative they reported in writing to the leaderships of the republic party organization about what Khabeishvili had done.

Well, the television viewers had the opportunity to see how he conducted himself during the interrogation in both the preliminary and the judicial investigation. They saw the evidence written and signed in Khabeishvili's own hand, in which he admitted--and repeatedly--taking bribes. But, having admitted this, he remained confident in himself: he used tricks and ruses and did not stop even before the most outrageous, absurd lie. Here is one example of his evidence given in the preliminary investigation: "after the conversation, we (he and Buchukury--G. I.) had a snack and then I left. I had with me a file which I had left in Buchukury's office for a couple of minutes. After that some money appeared in this file. I did not discover this until I was in Tbilisi. I did not count the money and do not know how much there was. I kept it for a while and then I got rid of it by just throwing it away."

With what and how does one measure that irrevocable moral and political harm done to the party cause and to our society by various kinds of people like Khabeishvili? For it is very, very important for us not to lose faith, in spite of the heavy burden of the recent past, in the correctness of our political reference points and in social justice. But it is not only and not so much the pain and sorrow that are generated by these revealing judicial processes concerning all of the "former" officials, but mainly the hope and confidence that we will survive, we will completely purge ourselves of the bad members of our society and will proceed firmly toward our ideals. And this confidence is generated by the atmosphere of belief, openness, and honest admission of our shortcomings, regardless of how serious they may be, which has prevailed in our society since the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and especially since the 27th Party Congress and the January (1987) Plenum.

But the path we will have to travel will not be simple and easy. And we must not slacken our vigilance, just as we must not forget Lenin's words to the effect that the party has "in some places attracted leeches of careerists and adventurers who have been called communists and who swindle us, who have attached themselves to us because communists are now in power...and these careerists have no ideals and no honor."

How dangerous careerists like Khabeishvili are was shown quite convincingly by the judicial process concerning him. Even when he was fully exposed, this person would still not be sincere and come clean. In court he decided to deny everything, even that which he had repeatedly admitted during the course of the preliminary investigation, to deny this in spite of the testimony of those who had bribed him, in spite of the plentiful proof of his decline. To be sure, things turned out badly for him, there was no way to account for everything, it was difficult to explain why during the investigation he had said one thing and now, in court, he says another. For in the interrogations during the course of the preliminary investigation of the case, including the interrogations with the participation of officials of the USSR procurator's office, Khabeishvili gave correct evidence and admitted that he had taken bribes. In his evidence and statements he admitted more than 10 times that he

had taken bribes from Buchukury, Khobaidze, and Batiashvili. But in court he thought up a version which was supposed to have saved him: he declared that all of the admissions he had made previously were invalid since when he had made them he was being influenced by some "external forces" which suppressed his will and beclouded his awareness. Incidentally, the following curious and eloquent fact was revealed in court: it turns out that Khabeishvili always kept in the sole of his shoe either an amulet or a talisman--in a word, it was something like a rabbit's foot which was supposed to have saved him. But from what?....

If this quirk of the former leading party worker might still cause some people to smile, his words would certainly not cause a smile--too sinister a figure was presented by the person who sat on the bench of the accused to make it possible to smirk condescendingly when hearing all this "parapsychological" delirium of a person who was quite normal according to medical experts, as he explained his words using the psychological situation to defend himself.

Yes, Khabeishvili, when his mask was torn off, became a truly sinister figure.

Such people do not repent.

And the film "Confession"--is it not about such people? Is it really about only one period of our difficult past, which has recently become a part of history, but which has not and cannot and should not leave the public memory? For the double standard by which people lived even in the 1970's and 1980's formed a duplicity, an adaptability and, as a direct result of this, the omnipotence of certain people who used the authority given to them by the people to the detriment of the society. Have not many of the revolting characteristics of Barlam Aravidze, that antihero from the film everyone is talking about, not been restored--even in our time!--in the characteristics of people like Khabeishvili? And are we not obligated to think about why the creators of "repentance" which has sparked our souls, called it a warning in film?...

Everyone should consider these alarming questions and answer them for themselves since today it has become acceptable for us to be extremely honest and open.

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CSO: 1830/526

GEORGIAN PEOPLE'S CONTROL COMMISSION WORK CRITICIZED

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 10 Feb 87 pp 1-2

[GRUZINFORM report: "Criterion for Control--Final Results"; first paragraph ZARYA VOSTOKA introduction]

[Text] The crucial tasks associated with increasing the effectiveness of verifications of the implementation of directives, prevention of violations of state, planning and contractual discipline, and elimination of the shortcomings in the work of the management staff, enterprises, institutions and organizations of the republic were earmarked at the expanded meeting of the Georgian SSR People's Control Committee that was held on 7 February. Its participants discussed the activity of the republic people's control agencies during 1986 and measures for restructuring their work in light of the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet, "On the Activity of USSR People's Control Committees."

A report was presented by the chairman of the Georgian SSR People's Control Committee, N. R. Sadzhaya.

The practice of control work and specific ways of increasing its role in the implementation of the party's strategic course toward acceleration of the socioeconomic development of individual regions and the republic as a whole were discussed by the chairmen of the people's control committees of the Abkhaz ASSR, K. N. Sichinava; the Adzhar ASSR, T. V. Baziashvili, South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast; A. G. Chekhoyev, the Leninskiy Rayon People's Control Committee of Tbilisi, O. S. Pzneladze; of the Makharadzevskiy Rayon People's Control Committee, D. Kh. Kostava; the secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Komsomol and chairman of the republic staff of Komsomolskiyprozhektor, G. G. Tonkonogov; an agronomist of the Algetskiy Vineyard Sovkhoz in Marneulskiy, chairman of the People's Control Group, G. D. Abdulayev; chairman of the Kvarelskiy Rayon People's Control Committee, N. M. Bezhanishvili; a milling machine operator of the Tbilisi Machine Building Plant imeni Kirov and a member of the Georgian SSR People's Control Committee, A. L. Mirzoyan; chairman of the People's Control Committee of the Kuttaissi Automotive Plant imeni Ordzhonikidze, R. G. Vacharadze.

A. I. Shitov, first deputy chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, participated in the discussions.

D. I. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, gave a speech at the meeting.

Exemplary order can be brought to public life only when every communist and worker engages in the struggle for imposing this order in the most active way and, after all, this is one of the most important aspects of the further democratization of our society, as participants in the meeting stated. An essential role in all this work is assigned to people's control agencies whose special force lies in the organic and natural combination of state and public control.

In recent years people's control agencies have been an increasingly reliable support for party organizations of the republic in resolving the most diverse issues and problems--from improving the art of production and overcoming mismanagement to concern for advancing the social sphere and increasing the personal responsibility of each worker. An appreciable effect was produced by combining party and state control, a good example of which is provided by the People's Control Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia and the Republic People's Control Committee.

During the half-year that has passed since the republic conference of people's controllers a good deal of work has been done. Aggressiveness and demandingness have increased and the selection of inspection personnel is improving. But today, in light of the decisions of the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the incomplete work is more clearly evident. In many areas the restructuring is proceeding slowly and in some places it is almost unnoticeable. For the serious situations which, as was noted at the plenum, has developed in various spheres of the society and which now requires deep changes, was largely conditioned by the lack of truly nationwide control, by the passivity of the workers, and by the loss of the correct social reference points. And therefore all the force, courage and importance of the plenum's decisions, the goals that it earmarked, and the main paths it selected for implementing the course of the 27th Party Congress are becoming clearer and more palpable.

One of the guarantees that the process of transformations that has been started will be brought to a conclusion, that the previous mistakes will not be repeated, is the creation and strengthening of all instruments and forms of real control that come from working people. But in practice the control has not yet become a mass, nationwide phenomenon in the republic. There is still a good deal of formalism and window trimming here, and the proper breakthrough has not taken place.

The majority of people's control posts and groups at enterprises and in organizations continue to operate passively and undecisively. This is frequently caused also by inadequate adherence to principles, an insufficiently open atmosphere in the collectives, and the low level of demandingness of party committees. Yet here lies the key unit for the restructuring of all control activity. For it is precisely what the small, the lower units that one finds the beginning of the majority of violations, theft of socialist property, cases of falsification of reports and deception,



and inefficiency which, if not properly resisted, sometimes grow to be very large in scale.

The republic has more than 250,000 people's controllers who are joined together into 45,000 groups and posts. Nonetheless many violations which can easily be seen evade them. They are seen, but people put up with them.

Just take the last example, when a large number of residential buildings, schools, hospitals, kindergartens and other facilities that had been accepted for use with incomplete work were removed from the account for fulfillment of the plan. Just in housing construction 173,000 square meters of housing were withheld, including more than 100,000 square meters in Tbilisi. The guilty parties, of course, were appropriately punished. But a very legitimate question was raised at the meeting: could all these shortcomings really have gone unnoticed by the vigilant eye of the workers themselves? For there are more than 18,000 people's controllers in construction organizations and enterprises of the construction industry! On whom can we rely if not on them? It is precisely in such issues that we need special demandingness and adherence to principles, and it becomes especially important to have combined efforts and joint actions.

Or take this example. In Akhnetskiy Rayon, there are more than 2,000 people's controllers. And this means that every 20th resident is a people's controller. Yet nobody reacted to the grossest violations that took place in the procurements of grapes, for which the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia expelled from the party and fired the first secretary of the raykom, Z. Manizhashvili. A strict reprimand was also quite justifiably given to the chairman of the rayon people's control committee, G. Natsvlishvili.

All managers of rayon and city people's control committees like the majority of those whom people have entrusted with the job of inspectors are communists. They have great rights, right down to addressing higher party agencies. A position of social dependency is especially unacceptable here. The patrols are there in order to give the proper signals promptly.

Incidentally, the signals are only one aspect of their work. To limit themselves to this means to be restricted to the external aspect of the work. Sometimes the signals are insufficient, but the main thing is missing--a thoughtful analysis of the factors that gave rise to them.

Thus in the Kuttaissi Silk Production Association reports were falsified by more than 30 million rubles of commercial products and 25 million rubles of sold products. Many managers were punished, including the chairman of the people's control committee, A. Bochorishvili. Similar falsifications were also discovered recently in the Tbilisi Silk Production Association. Many cases of distortion of reports are revealed by state statistical agencies. But is it really easier if the violations are discovered after they have become widespread? To nip mismanagement and falsification in the bud and to haul managers guilty of it on the carpet on behalf of the people--this is the task of public control.



At meetings of the republic committee and local people's control agencies, not enough attention is given to issues related to changing branches and enterprises over to the new conditions of management, cost accounting [khozraschet] and self-financing, or to the introduction of other progressive forms of organization and incentives for labor. And the main thing is that the proper amount of attention is not being devoted to determining the position of people's control posts and groups in subsequent development of self-management of labor collectives. The task, as the speakers emphasized, consists in establishing constant observation, both centrally and locally, of the most vulnerable points in production and economic-financial activity of enterprises and associations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and influencing these processes more actively.

One of the weakest aspects of the activity of the republic's management organizations is the low level of production and the shaky condition of labor discipline. Sometimes the violators still feel carefree while party and trade union organizations and people's controllers do not always make them answer for their actions properly. There are great losses of working time. More than one-third of these losses are from unauthorized absences and tardiness. For example, at the Samtredskiy Wood-Processing Combine this was the reason why almost every violator of labor discipline was absent an average of 18 days (!) a year. The situation was the same at the Goriyskiy Cotton Production Association and the Sachkheriskiy Cotton Spinning Factory.

The problem of product quality, where strict public supervision is especially necessary, was raised with all urgency at the meeting. It was noted that the republic has not fulfilled assignments and commitments for increasing the production of products in the highest quality categories. Now when there has been a sharp increase in requirements regarding this and a number of enterprises have introduced state receiving of products, it is necessary for the people's controllers to engage actively in the work for improving product quality.

Special attention at the meeting was devoted to questions related to the need to increase the activity of people's controllers in the fight against negative phenomena. Concrete examples were given in which mismanagement and the lack of a conscience on the part of certain managers caused the state and the people immense losses, some people were unceremoniously pressured, but the people's control agencies act timidly and in an unprincipled way.

It is extremely important to make people's control more active in the social sphere and in solving social problems. In a number of cases people's control agencies here hold a correct position and focus on the problems. But frequently they limit themselves to revealing only minor, superficial violations. And yet there are obviously serious problems in trade and consumer services, consumers cooperation and other spheres. But, of course, they must be constantly at the center of the attention of the patrols. But yet it is no secret that sometimes the representatives of the control agencies themselves engage in extortion and display unconscionable behavior. Participants in the meeting emphasize that it is necessary to evaluate such cases in the most principled way, resolutely get rid of dishonest workers, and develop an active, aggressive fight against unearned incomes. It was pointed

out that the activity of people's control posts and groups in the control agencies themselves become especially important here.

It was stated at the meeting that there are still many people who are slow in getting rid of the burden of the past, they let it live on, and sometimes they actually hold things up. Honest people and conscientious workers, mainly those whom the people have authorized on their behalf to exercise control everywhere, must resolutely rise up against them.

People's controllers must be among those who determine the moral atmosphere in the collective, in the rayon and in the republic as a whole, check to see how managers are keeping their promises and to what extent their deeds correspond to their words, and hold realistic positions as was required by the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It was emphasized at the meeting that it is important for every patrol to justify its high calling and provide an example of adherence to principles and uncompromisingness. Under the conditions of socialist democracy legality should become stronger and justice should triumph, and an atmosphere should be established in which it is possible for each person to work creatively and productively.

Participants in the meeting adopted the appropriate decree. Participating in the work of the expanded meeting of the People's Control Committee of the Georgian SSR were the first secretary of the Tbilisi Gorkom of the Communist Party of Georgia, V. I. Alavidze, and the deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, B. D. Makharashvili.

11772

CSO: 1830/525

KAZAKH PROPAGANDISTS PARTICIPATE IN PRAVDA ROUNDTABLE

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 87 p 2

[Article by G. Dildyayev and T. Yesilbayev, PRAVDA correspondents, city of Alma Ata: "Studying is Necessary Work. We Discuss A Draft To Restructure Political and Economic Studies." Article is followed by two letters from readers under the rubric "Lines from Letters"]

[Text] It is paradoxical, but it is a fact: the more critical and complicated political, social and economic problems became in the republic, the more vaguely did party training respond to them. Withdrawing into history, thoughtless learning of quotations by rote and passive enlightenment reigned during lessons, and students for years did not venture outside the realm of truisms. Formalism and pedantry took root in the most important and richest life experience of audiences. This not only debased, but it also discredited revolutionary theory, and it made it remote for many, deprived of roots in reality and cut off from practical work. Boredom supplanted the spirit of a fearless search for the truth. Many political education clubs and workshops were transformed into a kind of temple of party bureaucratic ritual.

Participants in a republic conference held recently in Alma Ata--secretaries of party organizations, managers of political education clubs and workshops and propagandists-- termed the draft document of the CPSU Central Committee on restructuring the system of political and economic training long-awaited and very important. Many of them expressed their views and shared their thoughts and remarks at PRAVDA's roundtable.

WHY DOES A PROPAGANDIST FEAR AN AUDIENCE? Because, our interviewees declared, he is becoming more and more uninteresting to audiences. There has been an increase in the level of education and knowledgeability of students and their queries. Therefore, a speaker on a platform today who cannot tear himself away from his text that is glued together from newspaper clippings and methodological instructions looks at the very least ridiculous.

The role of universities of Marxism-Leninism is being strengthened. Communists need not be "rounded up" for universities, but there should be a careful selection of those who have a gift for propagandist activity, and they should be trained, sparing neither forces nor means, and leading specialists

and administrators should be brought in to do this. Without this, according to the general view, restructuring of the system of Marxist-Leninist education will be reduced to a change of names of forms and courses.

V. CHERNIKOV, supervisor of the political education club of the Taldy-Kurganskiy Obkom of the party:

"Only a well-trained propagandist who has full and fresh information, and who is technically equipped, can make the transition from a monologue to a dialogue with students and carry on a discussion on the most critical questions of social development and actively participate in their resolution."

Also the complaints of propagandists and students about textbooks have not eased up. They are written in a dull and uninteresting way. It is difficult to get carried away reading them. This is our order to social scientists, economists and historians. More manuals should be published in the native national languages of the republics.

A. KISELEVA, director of the Marxism-Leninism university of the Alma Atinskiy Obkom of the party:

"I was recently on an assignment for the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee in the city of Shevchenko to assist the Marxism-Leninism university of the Mangyshlakskiy Obkom of the party in setting up its work. As it turned out, the university was in touch only with the propaganda and agitation section. The other sections do not consider it necessary to engage in the training of propagandists for their branches."

FROM SUGGESTIONS OF DISCUSSION PARTICIPANTS: Develop regulations for the political education club and define its status more clearly.

KNOWLEDGE WITHOUT CONVICTIONS. The conclusions of a recent republic conference on international education compelled thinking about many things, including the effectiveness of propagandist activity and all ideological work. Indeed, one cannot help but think, when part of the creative intelligentsiya is enthralled by an idealization of the nation's past. And in that environment there are none "who are not enveloped" by the system of Marxist-Leninist education.

Judging by the tests of students who took part in the hooligan escapades in December of last year in Alma Ata, they are all doing well in the social sciences and are politically literate. But in conversations that were hot on the trail, as the saying goes, many of them wandered when answering questions about national policy and the state structure. Many did not know who headed the government of the republic.

Konsomol committees do not have an effective propaganda potential, and public profession faculties set up in VUZ's do not comply with their assignment. But it is not enough just to ascertain unsatisfactory performance of propagandistic work in the youth environment, said the "roundtable" participants. Action is needed. However, even now, when the times require a



search for effective forms and methods of idealistic and moral tempering of youth, the rejection of many stereotypes in the ideological work of Komsomol organizations is going extremely slowly. For example, speaking at the "roundtable," A. Zhapakov, supervisor of a political training sector of the Kazakhstan LKSM central committee, was not able even to formulate the main directions of activity of Komsomol committees for improving propaganda work.

A. TAIROV, supervisor of the political education club of the Dzheskasganskiy Obkom of the party:

"I am disturbed most of all by the organization of studies of two categories of students--managerial cadres and Komsol members and youths. I honestly must say that, while we have a shortage of experienced propagandists, employees of the offices of oblast party committees are standing aside from this important matter."

The problems of Komsomol studies cannot be enumerated. But for some reason the draft under consideration has few specific instructions and recommendations concerning this important sector of ideological work. In particular, it is not clear what the courses in Komsomol studies will be like.

FROM THE SUGGESTIONS OF DISCUSSION PARTICIPANTS: Minvuz [Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education] should approve the study of a course on fundamental organizational and educational work in work collectives and regulations on student socio-political practices.

A compulsory volume of student work with original sources must be established in study programs.

THE COST OF KNOWLEDGE: It was not very long ago that even the strongest directors of virgin land sovkhoz's of the republic used to shrug their shoulders in answer to a question on the cost of 100 kg of grain. They were more interested in volume. And today the directors of other departments and supervisors of farms can talk a long time about the virtues of the brigade contract and strengthening cost accounting attitudes, but the dairymaids, for example, do not know how many fodder units are expended on the production of 100 kg of milk. And indeed economic studies at plants and factories frequently do not concern themselves with specific activity.

S. ZHABAKOV, chief of the planning section of the "Achpolymetal" of Chimbentsk Oblast, a propagandist:

"Not only as an economist but also as a propagandist in the system of economic studies, I approve the combination of economic studies with professional studies and its inclusion in the state system for increasing the qualifications and training of cadres. I speak of this based in particular on the first results of an experiment which is being conducted in our combine. Courses for 800 workers in the basic professions have been organized on the basis of our training course center and shops. Students here receive

political and economic knowledge along with professional training. This, firstly, noticeably raised the interest of students in studies. And secondly, they know that at the end of the year they will take an examination, the results of which will have a direct impact on ratings and salaries."

B. BERIKBOLOV, deputy minister of geology of the Khazakstan SSR and chairman of the council on economic education:

"The draft document we are considering proposes that the VTsSPC [All-Union Central Trade Union Council] and Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems] introduce changes in the wage rates and skills manual. But they have just been published and, as the saying goes, they still smell of printer's ink. It appears they already have to be refined. There is no need to prove that delay today is impossible. Nowhere and to no one. I will add that a majority of the editions published with the help of organizers of economic studies are becoming outdated."

FROM THE SUGGESTIONS OF DISCUSSION PARTICIPANTS: Introduce a system of individual tests and interviews to check on the degree of student mastery of the study program.

Form groups of permanent consultants to help students engaged in self-study.

A COMMON CONCERN OF THE PARTY. Participants in the "roundtable" paid special attention to questions of party management of the system of political and economic studies. At the present time, party committees, in their opinion, are handling this superficially and are attempting to shift their functions onto political education clubs and workshops. This feature is particularly revealing: concern for the organization of discussions of the CPSU Central Committee draft locally has been assigned once again to political education clubs and workshops.

Those assembled perceived in a positive way the fact that the draft proposes ensuring an optimal combination of centralized principles with a broadening of independence of party organizations and an increase in their responsibility for the quality and results of studies.

T.SHARZHUKOVA, supervisor of the political education club of the Karagandinskiy Obkom of the party:

"What has the draft given us? The preliminary results are ambiguous. Basically, it proves the value of structural changes in studies that are reflected in the draft. And courses being studied received support. But the oblast party committees were not able to take full advantage of the right to independence on questions of the organization of studies."

V. OZHERELYEV, supervisor of a political education club in the Tselinogradskiy Obkom of the party:

"How does one achieve in practice the principles of compulsion and voluntariness set forth in the draft? To answer this question, we consulted

with party workers, propagandists and students of schools and seminar of the oblast. In our view, these principles can be attained on the basis of a broad inculcation of methods of political self-education with a compulsory introduction of a control system and the provision of methodological assistance and the stimulation of studies."

FROM SUGGESTIONS OF DISCUSSION PARTICIPANTS: The first lesson of the new academic year in the system of political and economic studies is to be conducted by the first secretaries of party committees of all ranks.

Provide for the creation of zonal permanent political education workshops for several party organizations, especially in village situations.

Relate performance ratings and official changes of personnel to their attitude to increasing their ideological and theoretical levels.

#### LINES FROM LETTERS

The 6th section of the draft states that the training of propagandists must be conducted in continuously operating seminars in party raykoms and gorkoms and in branch and regional courses established by administrative and trade union agencies. I would also like to see the task set here to make the work of these formations more active, especially of rayon and city seminars. As a rule, the indicated seminars give sufficient material for propagandists. But the return would be greater if specialists of GOSPLAN, leading scientists of the country and workers from the USSR Council of Ministers were invited to lectures. Very little or nothing at all is said at these seminar lectures about psychological-pedagogical problems of party education and active methods of conducting lessons. Rarely can you listen here to speeches by the best propagandists about their own experience.

A. PLEKHANOV, propagandist, city of Sverdlovsk.

A substantial improvement is required in the system of keeping propagandists informed directly in primary party organizations. Administrators of political schools or seminars are obligated to know fully how the collective is getting on, what tasks confront it and how they are being accomplished. But the main task of any propagandist is to teach people how to learn and how to gain knowledge by themselves. But this is not an end in itself. Is the acquired knowledge transformed into an active vital position? Are student words at

variance with their actions? Such questions should be discussed at each lesson. Proceeding from this, that training should have an effect on increased social and work activity of students, it is necessary to improve their socio-political practices in a radical way. Party groups, secretaries of shops and primary party organizations and deputy secretaries for ideological work are urged to take on this concern.

V. VERETENNIKOV, Belgorodskaya Oblast.

13052

CSO: 1830/567



UNREGISTERED BAPTIST 'ILLEGAL' ACTIVITIES VIEWED

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 19 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by N. Ganyukhina, Yu. Kruzhilin, and Sh. Tugushev: "The Case of the Law and Grace"]

[Text] The famous work of medieval Russian literature, "The Epic of the Law and Grace," has nothing to do with it. Persons featured in this case broke the criminal law and were, according to them, blessed by "divine grace."

The case, it must be admitted, is unusual. What can a person do with a private home? Well, live in it. Or rent it. Or sell it. Or lock it up and let it stand empty while the owners are away. What else?

In one private home in Fergana, an underground printing plant was set up.

The size of the business can be gauged by the fact that 25,000 copies of various publications were found there, ready to be shipped to different areas of the country.

Also found were paper supplies (over a ton of paper), offset plates (made in the Federal Republic of Germany), ink, dyes, chemicals, staples, tapes, glue, artificial leather for bindings, paper-cutting equipment, binding tools, and so on.

Had the underground printing shop, equipped with a secret alarm system and carefully hidden, printed innocuous folk tales, even then it would have been a violation of the law. Publishing is not on the list of individual labor activities that citizens are permitted to undertake.

This outfit, however, printed tales of a different sort.

Books published by "Christian Publishers" contained tales about "mass arrests, persecutions, and torture," allegedly practiced in the Soviet Union against people who believe in God.

They contained calls to believers not to obey authorities, not to participate in the life of the society, and not to fulfill their civic responsibilities.

Finally, they contained instructions for those who teach religion to children as well as "spiritual sustenance" for little ones, adolescents, and young people.

Of course, Soviet laws forbid using religion as a cover to form groups of citizens and incite them to commit various offenses. They forbid teaching religion to children; it contradicts the principle of the USSR Constitution separating the school and the church. They forbid violating the person and the rights of citizens under the guise of celebrating religious rites. They forbid libeling our government and social system.

However, the Fergana Oblast court found that these are precisely the kinds of activities local residents A. S. Mukhin and S. Ye. Bogdanov had been engaged in, each in his own way.

Both of them denied everything, even though the equipment from the underground printing shop situated under Bogdanov's house was there for all to see; even though those who had heard Mukhin's sermons repeated them in court; and even though "study materials" and students themselves not only confirmed the fact that religion had been taught systematically but described the character of the classes.

Let us think about this together.

When we, atheists, determine our attitude toward a person, is it important to us whether or not he believes in God? For us Mohammed, for instance, is no better or worse than Christ, Jehovah, Buddha, and so forth. To us it is important whether the person is intelligent or stupid, diligent or lazy, honest or dishonest, generous or greedy. Whatever god he believes in, and whether or not he believes at all, is his own business. We do not pray ourselves, but consider it an unworthy business to keep others from praying since we respect everyone's freedom of conscience.

Mores are completely different in religious circles. Those who worship a god other than their own--or no god at all--are "heathens," "Antichrists," "godless ones," and "infidels." Among believers of all kinds freedom of conscience is clearly in short supply. Our compatriots that are in the thrall of religious beliefs can be pitied and should be enlightened. This is the purpose of this discussion.

The protagonist of the Fergana case is Aleksandr Semyonovich Mukhin, presbyter (i.e., spiritual leader) of an unregistered congregation of evangelical Baptists. His fellow defendant is an active member of the same congregation, Sergey Yegorovich Bogdanov. Former plumber Mukhin is 55; dry cleaner employee Bogdanov is 33.

The congregation is complex. The problem is that about 25 years ago Baptists had a schism, as it often happens in religious circles. They fought not over the question which prayers to recite, how to baptize or bury people. This should not have mattered to anyone.

While most evangelical Christians live and work in peace and worship freely, a small group of their "spiritual leaders" announced that it does not agree with Soviet laws on religion.

This, however, matters directly to us all.

To pass laws is not the business of the church, which was separated from the state at the inception of the Soviet state. The October Revolution, which razed the prison of the peoples that had been Czarist Russia, was made also to make sure that no religion would ever be imposed on anyone and that millions of toilers, if they so wished, could get rid of this spiritual addiction.

And millions did make use of the hard-won freedom of conscience. Now the majority of Soviet people do not believe in God. Yet they do not force their atheist views on believers. On the contrary, our laws guarantee freedom of worship to each believer--unless it is harmful to health, is forced on people, or is used for profit.

It would seem fair. But, it seems, it is precisely the fairness of it that does not agree with the schismatic Baptists. They, as could be expected of them, readily accept freedom of conscience for themselves but are in no hurry to grant it to atheists. They demand nothing short of abolition of atheist education in schools and similar measures. After demands come deeds.

Their strategy is to make offenders out of as many people as possible. To tie them all together by complicity.

They usually begin by persuading a group of believers not to register their congregation as it is required. Yet registration is not a mere formality. Having applied to the ispolkom, a religious group on the one hand effectively agrees to abide by the conditions described above. On the other hand, it receives a guarantee from the government that its rights will be respected--it comes under the protection of the law.

This is what followers of all religions do. Why? Those are honest citizens who know by their own experience the humanism of our system. Recently, MOSCOW NEWS--incidentally, a newspaper published not only in Russian but in many other languages for distribution abroad--reported that in one ispolkom the bureaucrats were delaying registration of a religious congregation. And what happened? The newspaper came to its defense and rightly criticized the bureaucrats. And the violation of the law was eliminated.

This is how Soviet democracy works, but such people as Mukhin turn registration into a bugaboo for the gullible.

The court once again confirmed that Aleksandr Semyonovich had been officially warned that, in not allowing his flock to register, he was violating the law. He did not listen.

After the refusal to register came levies. Members of the illegal congregation were forced to contribute their own hard-earned money. Aleksandr Semyonovich was warned not to collect levies--that it would not end well. He did not listen.

After the levies came strengthening of "the capital base." In the courtyard of a member of the congregation, Ye. Burtseva, a prayer hall seating 300 was erected with two rows of pews and central heating; an electric organ worthy of a village social club was installed. No homeowner, religious or not, is allowed to build such structures without permission from the authorities. Like it or not, even to add a room one must first get approval at BII [not further identified], everyone knows that. A structure built without permission will sooner or later be torn down, and rightly so--to teach people not to break the law. No one is allowed to build without permission, and there is no special case here. This, too, Aleksandr Semyonovich was told. He did not listen.

After construction came "the educational campaign." To show you what it was like, we will describe just one incident out of many similar ones. They built a special billboard with photographs of "prisoners"--those who had got what they were asking for, those who had already been summoned by our not-so-prompt justice to answer for their repeated violations of the laws governing religious cults. They "adorned" the billboard with barbed wire and fake chains (later used as exhibits in court), supplied the portraits with appropriate inscriptions, and showed all this to children and adolescents, what they meant. The explaining was done by Aleksandr Semyonovich himself and by another preacher of the sect, Maltsev. They were saying, for instance: "The Soviets can't do anything to you. If you are unfaithful, God will punish you, not the Soviet power." They also enjoined them to pray for those "prisoners" and called on their followers to do only what they are paid for at work, and not to participate in civic activities. "During the prayer, children stood on their knees," testified witness A. Yakovlev. Teacher N. Bocharikova testified: I have been to that prayer hall several times and seen my students there--standing on their knees, crying as they listened to the prayer. Prayers lasted for at least 2 hours. Now I understand why those kids were often sick, skipped physical education classes, and why they were so introverted and wary. They simply lived in fear."

At the same time, according to other witnesses' depositions, those same kids knew by heart poor-quality religious doggerel and harmoniously and melodiously sang hymns of a similar content. Someone taught them, and did so persistently, diligently, and systematically. A double burden can be harmful for a still unformed, growing organism, concluded court-appointed psychologists, especially since at school they were learning one thing, and in the clandestine classes the exact opposite.

Who was it that organized those classes, that damaged the children's psychological make-up? Once again it was he, Aleksandr Semyonovich Mukhin, who had been tried previously for similar offenses. When he was released from



detention, he was given the usual advice to break with the past and to start a new life. He did not listen.

To teach, one needs books. "The Christian," the so-called publishing house, which was spawning tens of thousands of them in Bogdanov's house, was the brainchild of the underground "Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches" (STsYeKhB), a clandestine center of the schism, of those who had made it their goal to cut their flock off from the rest of the society, to stir up hostility among people with lies and fear.

There have been no mass arrests of believers under the Soviet Government, and there will be none. There have been no believers persecuted for their beliefs, and there will be none. But the government punishes, and will continue to punish, anyone who breaks the law, regardless of whether or not he believes in God. The judges were right not to hesitate in the face of false arguments about freedom of conscience. By their actions, they in fact defended that freedom. Mukhin and Bogdanov were found guilty.

The criminal case is closed. We have heard the point of view of the law. Now let us discuss grace.

In as many years as we have known various leaders of the sects supporting the schism, we could never get an answer out of them to a simple question:

"Suppose you register your congregation as required. What will it change? What exactly will be the obstacles to your worship?"

They just do not want to answer because they have nothing to say. Next door, in Fergana, there is another Baptist congregation. They have registered as required. We have asked its leaders: "Are there any liturgical differences between you and a STsYeKhB congregation?" "None." "What are your relations with the local authorities?" "Fine. Perhaps even good. They paved the road to the prayer hall, and they gave us construction materials for repairs and rebuilding."

"Do you suffer any persecutions?" "None." "Do you participate in civic life?" "Of course. At our meetings, we often say that we are happy with government campaigns to eradicate drunkenness and bribe-taking, and especially with its peace initiatives. We have collected a lot of money for the Peace Fund as well as for the fund for Chernobyl residents who had a misfortune." "What is your attitude toward military service?" "Our children serve honestly, since it is their civic duty to do so. Recently, we sent off to serve our deacon's son, Andrey Frize, and did so with warm wishes." "And yet, your co-religionists at the STsYeKhB encourage young people to refuse to serve in the military and swear allegiance to the Motherland." "That congregation are our brothers in Christ. We are praying for them to rejoin us. Then, all their troubles will come to an end and, incidentally, they will have the opportunity to publish legally all the books they need for worship."

We are not, needless to say, theologians. But it seems right that a religious person should behave according to his beliefs. The holy book of the Christians, the Bible, teaches that those who disobey secular authorities disobey God, and "those who disobey will bring judgment upon themselves."

In the many years we have known various leaders of the sects supporting the schism, we could never get an answer out of them to a simple question:

"Why don't you obey the teachings of your own holy book? The Scriptures you don't respect. The law you also don't respect. What are the principles by which you live?"

They do not want to answer because they have nothing to say. The tongue cannot utter the truth: that they live by the principle of hypocrisy, obeying other people's commands.

There is a reason why we mention other people's commands. Both Mukhin and his "superiors" from Tashkent--who were also recently brought to trial--are mere executors. The real leaders are thousands of kilometers away. We will talk about this next time.

12892/9599  
CSO: 1830/692

## SOVIET-AMERICAN FILM INITIATIVE EFFORT ORGANIZED

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 26, 5-12 Jul 87 p 10

[Article by Natalya Vasilyeva]

[Text]

A rendezvous between Soviet and American film makers has been held in Los Angeles and New York.

SPEAKING about it at a press conference at the USSR Union of Film Makers, Elem KLIMOV, First Secretary of the Board, said: "The theme of the conference could be summed up as follows: How do we portray each other on the screen and how can we do away with the enemy image?"

"While preparing for the meeting, we looked through all the films on the subject, both American and Soviet, and put together two reels of selected scenes projecting the negative image of the other nation. That proved to be an edifying experience. I should admit, too, that the Americans left us far behind in that 'competition' - a fact acknowledged by the US audiences.

"American films go on general release in this country," Elem Klimov continued. "We see eight to ten American films annually. In the United States, unfortunately, Soviet films are at best shown in just

one small cinema. Such an imbalance is the reason for the Americans drawing their ideas about this country mostly from films like 'Rambo-II', 'Rocky-IV', 'Amerika' or 'Red Dawn'. There can be no denying that we try to buy critical films from the US as well as commercial entertainment films. In other words, the situation is not normal on either side.

"The main result of the conference in America is the decision to set up a non-governmental non-profit-making organization, the Soviet-American Film Initiative, designed to help the film makers of our two countries in their activities. The film screen could become a bridge connecting our countries instead of a wall dividing them. The Film Initiative (or Film Community) is meant to build that bridge by supporting the production and distribution of films showing a true picture of our two countries. Within the framework of the Film Initiative, bilateral festivals and retrospectives, film workshops, wider contacts between film schools can be organized. Membership is open to every individual film maker and any public organization supporting the idea of understanding and tolerance."

Are there plans for Soviet-Ame-

rican coproductions? According to Rolan Bykov, director of the Mosfilm Studio of Children's and Youth Films, they are preparing to make several films together with US Midwood Productions, namely: "Where the Sun Never Sets" (after Segal's story, to be directed by Bryan Hutton), and "Northern Lights". Both films are thrilling adventures. Screen versions of Andersen's tale "The Daughter of the Swamp Tzar" and Ernest Seton-Thompson's story, "The Slum Cat", are also planned to be made, as well as the films "Fantasies, or Ivan the Fool" and "Witches International". These first coproductions are meant for teenagers. According to Rolan Bykov, this is the field where early sprouts of friendship are most likely.

Elem Klimov spoke of other projects. The screen version of Viktor Astafyev's "Tsar - Fish", to be made by Nikita Mikhalkov, will star Meryl Streep. Talks are going on about the production of "Hamlet" by Gleb Panfilov. During the forthcoming Moscow Film Festival, negotiations, which started in New York, will continue about the joint production of the film "Chernobyl", to be produced and directed by Stanley Kramer.

/9274

CSO: 1812/0245

DISCORD IN MOSCOW THEATERS THREATENS EXPERIMENT

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 87 p 3

[Article by B. Lyubimov: "The Prose of Life and the Drama of Theater"]

[Text] And once again, great literature rushes to the rescue of the theater. Ever at the juncture of historical periods, theater cannot survive without the novel and the short story.

It has already begun. Two Moscow theaters--the Maly and the imeni Mossovet [Moscow Soviet]--are staging and rehearsing V. Astafev, with premieres based on works of S. Zalygin, Yu. Bondarev, Ch. Aytmatov, Yu. Trifonov, and V. Belov planned as well.

The keen sense of conflict evident on Astafev's later works is the result of our contemporary situation.

For his epigraph to "The Tsar Fish," the author chose lines from a poem by Nikolay Rubtsov: "Pensive and silent, I turn my accustomed gaze to contemplating the sinister holiday of being, the troubled face of my home." The author's voice, which broaches questions painful for reader and author alike, struck a harsh note of dissonance in the placid optimistic time which saw the publication of "The Tsar Fish." Astafev sees the moral destruction of nature's defilers and the decay of human essence as the reason behind the convulsed and befouled aspect of nature.

Ten years after this, Astafev wrote "The Sad Detective," which is about spiritual pollution, senseless (and therefore doubly terrible) evil, and base acts. Readers were struck by the book, and some gave it very poor reviews.

The deeper one reads into Astafev's books, the more aware he becomes that these works are much more than a mere depiction of man's decay. The author shows this both when he descends to the base level of animal life, and when he is sustained by faith in truth, good, beauty, and his destiny to "create life, grow wheat, and love all that is important;" that is, to be sustained by the energy of "a great and luminous idea." What he means is love and charity.

These characteristics of Astafev make his writing difficult for the reader and represent a formidable task for the theater. In addition to the always



difficult translation of a prose work into theatrical form, this work required that an effort be made to retain the uniqueness of the author's mood, as well as his view of the world, which, paradoxically, is both favorable and unfavorable, despite his harsh opinions of his heroes.

V. Sedov, who produced the play at the Maly Theater, chose to use only one of the stories--"A Dream of White Mountains"--that make up "The Tsar Fish." It is pointless to reproach theater for simplifying an author's conception or accuse him of losing the main ideas, plot, and emotional impact. I feel that any discussion of adapting a work for the stage should start with a statement of what was retained for the viewer, and only then move to what was lost.

The strongest aspect of the Maly Theater production is A. Korshunov's performance in the lead role of Akim. From one scene to the next, the actor gathers strength. At the play's beginning, Akim's sloppy pronunciation offends our ear; the actor has not yet had time to completely create his character. But as time passes we see the wonderful landscape of Akim's soul and are no longer put off by his awkwardness, naivete, and lack of education. Like his namesake in Tolstoy's "Power of Darkness," Korshunov's Akim discovers such increasingly harder to find "ores" of the soul as charity and compassion. The process of discovering these qualities is littered with obstacles put in place not only by the author, but by the theater as well.

The play violates the main law of Astafev's poetics; that is, the struggle between light and darkness. The staging of such scenes as Akim drinking up his money in the restaurant, his childhood reminiscences, and his parting with friends Yegorka and Kiryaga-Derevyaga are superficial and serve only as Siberian "exotica." The local color takes on an independent importance and hampers the development of the action in the play. The play also plasters over the complex textures of Astafev's ideas and morality, turning them into a simple conflict between nature, embodied by Akim, and civilization, embodied by his dying opponent Goga Gertsev. And while the character of Akim is drawn by Astafev and played by Korshunov with three dimensional completeness, A. Kharitinov's Goga Gertsev is flat and unrealistic. Experience has shown us that this type of person is much more complex than it seemed to the writer ten years ago and deserves the same careful and objective attention as Akim. A. Okhlupina, who plays Eli, has a difficult job, since her role was not carefully mapped out in the theater version, and is therefore a passive one. To summarize, Akim's partners and opponents in the dialogue on stage are convincing only as stereotypes.

There is no doubt that "The Sad Detective," which is showing at the Theater imeni Mossovet, will be a theatrical event of the first water this season. Evidence of this comes in the form of continual debates about the novel, the fact that the play was staged by G. Trostyanetskiy, one of the most promising new-comer directors, and the appearance of V. Solomin in the leading role of Soshin. The play is truly one of a kind.

At a time when our theater is confused and bewildered by the problems of our time, the play at the Theater imeni Mossovet paints a completely objective picture of our reality. And at a time when the bulk of the soon-to-end season's plays are staged without real strength or form, Trostyanetskiy has

shown himself to be a true artist with a virtuoso command of the theatrical medium: space and rhythm, light and sound, and pantomime all are tools whose use the director has mastered.

One strength of the play is the realness of its characters. Railway worker Aunt Granya (L. Naumkina), the alcoholic "Trash Can" (G. Dyatlovskaya), the big local level official (L. Yevtifev), and the recidivist Ilinets (N. Lebedev) all seem like they might have walked onto the stage out of real life. At the same time, there are highly unrealistic moments. The play is interrupted by flashbacks in which the actors are silent and pantomime carries the action forward.

Such transitions are difficult for an audience, and it was possible on more than one occasion to feel that the intensity was waning and the worst enemy of the theater, boredom, was creeping secretly in. Solomin, who played the lead, had the hardest job in this respect.

The paradoxical character of the millionaire and writer was incomplete and lacked integrity; it was as if he had been "pasted" together from different pieces. Nonetheless, the actor playing the role manages certain successful scenes when he is supported by his colleagues, such as the "family" scenes with his loving and hating wife (L. Drebnova). And I feel that because the torn and patchy structure of the play is sometimes intentional, the millionaire writer's complex ideas become obscured and the tragic resonance of Astafev's prose is intensified.

This play, which, like Astafev's prose, will win both enemies and friends, will not leave the viewer apathetic. This sets the play apart from others this season, which has been passionate behind the scenes, but exceedingly flaccid and uninteresting on stage.

It appears that the theater started its experiment unprepared, with its repertoire reserves empty, and is now banking on the classics, the modern novel, foreign plays, and plays proscribed in earlier years.

The organizational energy that was awakened did not translate into creative energy. A theater-wide director gap was discovered. Moscow now has movie directors G. Panfilov and M. Khutsiev staging plays. Trostyanetskiy was called in from Omsk, A. Shapiro was summoned from Riga, directors were imported from the GDR and Yugoslavia, and actors have started directing. For the first time in many years, we are seeing the names of relatively young directors on the posters of the best-known Moscow theaters. Among the ones we have seen are N. Sukhoreva, V. Belyakovich, V. Are, T. Kazakova, N. Slivak, Yu. Kalantarov, V. Mirzoyev, G. Gurvich, and V. Kochevenko. Yet none of their plays are creating much of a stir. Another interesting fact is that, for various reasons, most of the directors of Moscow's theaters have never put on a play in such a critical season. Many troupes are breaking up into smaller and smaller groups. Over the last year, the art councils and general troupe meetings have "closed down" more plays than the ministry did in five years. In many cases, actors treat democracy like anarchy, while directors see it as an opportunity for despotism. The press inundates its readers with articles on strife in the theater. First one, then another theater ends up without a head director,

while the heads of a good half of all troupes are hanging on only by a thread, paying for their years of peaceful obedience, inertia, and stagnation.

Moscow is a republic of theater. Everything that happens there and all the ideological, creative, and organizational ramifications thereof are crucial to the future of the rest of the country's theaters.

The 1986-1987 season will not vanish from memory, but instead will serve as a lesson for years to come. Its importance lies in the fact that it has forced us to recall truths that had been consigned to oblivion. Theater is a collective art. Its foundation is the creative will of the director, which unites the actors. It is an art of the whole, not of parts; it is an organic art of individuals, not of cogs in a machine. Our experience over the last season should remind us that creative freedom is not freedom from work or license to avoid cooperating.

Until the stifling atmosphere of disharmony, mutual intolerance, and intestine warfare among troupes subsides and gives way to an environment where we listen to one another and try to understand other points of view, creativity will never be the main factor in staging plays, and the theater's experiment will be in jeopardy.

13189

CSO: 1800/641

VIEWERS POLLED ON REACTION TO FILM 'REPENTANCE'

Tbilisi PARTIYNOYE SLOVO in Russian No 8, Apr 87 pp 18-20

[Article by GLOBUS Special Correspondent Igor Tomberg: "Repentance--Should Our History's Negative Facts Be Brought Out on the Screen?"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] "Public opinion sees the film 'Repentance' as political, showing honestly and openly the negative, acquired traits that persist in our lives. That such a film has been shown is accepted by the public as proof that the current stage of Soviet society's development is irreversible." This was one of the conclusions reached by officials of the Georgian CP Public Opinion Study Center, who polled the viewers immediately after the first screening of the film at Tbilisi theaters. We present below an article by GLOBUS special correspondent Igor Tomberg based on interviews with Georgian sociologists, journalists, and party officials.

Even before it was released nationwide, the film "Repentance," produced by Grusiya-Film Studios, sent enormous socio-political reverberations around the country. It could only be expected. The film was conceived as "complex," even "painful"; its psychological impact has only been strengthened by the extraordinary form created by director Tengiz Abuladze's brilliant talent.

The film became, in a way, a sensation, although creating one was very far from the thoughts of those who are behind "Repentance." The cinematographers carried out a request by the Georgian SSR party, administrative, and social organizations to make a film that would reflect today's concerns, a film that would be a lesson or a warning. They carried it out brilliantly, as befits talented and honest people. And courageous people, too. This is the trait in the creators' artistic character that has been especially stressed in the press.

Whenever I read reviews and interviews devoted to "Repentance," I have a feeling that their authors still have many unanswered questions. "The film has been supported by the Georgian CP Central Committee." This is great. But why does a talented, unusual, even useful film have to have support? Why does it need to be defended and aggressively pushed to be released nationally?



For 2 full years, "Repentance," which PRAVDA called "a deed of moral purification of the society, of courageous openness," had to be actively pushed through into national release. Was not it because cultural bureaucrats were, as usual, trying to sweep a masterpiece under the rug by using by now familiar rhetoric such as "The viewer is not ready for this," "This is not for our audiences," or something else in the same vein?

IZVESTIYA wrote: "This film's release demonstrates trust in the citizen, in his political and spiritual maturity, as well as in his ability to accept the truth and to assist in its triumph." It turns out then that millions of Soviet viewers must wait until someone condescends to trust them. And who? Those who for decades had fed us eyewash, dishonest works in cinema, theater, and literature? It is them, is not it, that we have to thank if an excellent film--and Soviet films should be such--demands of its authors true civic courage, if heroism becomes the norm of creative activity while its alternatives are conformism and lack of taste?

With such thoughts I flew to Georgia's capital, knowing that enormously serious work had been done there, the results of which provide an answer to the question that has been put in the title of this article.

In October 1986, when the film was first shown at three theaters in the city, specialists from the Georgian CP Public Opinion Study Center, immediately following the screening, conducted a mini-poll of the viewers: workers, students, pensioners, and college-educated professionals working in humanities or sciences and technology.

The very first poll--later they were conducted weekly--revealed an immense positive reaction to the film: 97.1 percent of the respondents gave "Repentance" high marks. One out of four, or 25.7 percent, noted that the film's main qualities were its civic spirit, courage, and honesty. One out of every six viewers, or 14.8 percent, wanted to cordially thank the film's creators, director T. Abuladze and actor A. Makharadze, who played the title roles.

Georgian sociologists concluded, on the basis of the polls' data, that the main cause of such broad social impact of the film was the very fact that such a highly critical film had been shown and that fact's political significance for the people. The truth on the screen was taken by the viewers as an indication that the truth had triumphed in real life and that democracy and openness had been truly reestablished as fundamental features of our society. This was reinforced by the atmosphere of free expression of different, even disputable, opinions, the fact that they were discussed and taken into account when the data were analyzed.

The film, unquestionably complex and unusual for the typical viewer, created mixed feelings at various levels. Representatives of different social classes responded differently to the question what the film is about.

Among professionals, the prevailing opinion was that the film was "philosophical, psychological, existing essentially outside the historical context." It transcends the defined boundaries of a specific place or time, asserting the general principles of humanism common to all mankind.

The majority of workers, on the other hand, thought that the film reflects not so much the past as the living problems of the present--the struggle for renewal in the society.

As for people of the older generation, those over 60, most of them thought that the film "sheds light on the well-known historical facts," "criticizes certain persons and mistakes of the past," and "brings to light personal failings." It is precisely that group, together with some professionals, that expressed the conviction that the film could negatively influence the young and that it would be counterproductive to show it.

As for the young, especially students, they identified with Tornika Aravidze, a boy their age, and shared his high moral convictions. Most of them, however, did not accept the director's decision that the young hero should commit suicide, seeing in it the sign of distrust toward the young and their ability to combat evil.

The opinions indeed were different, sometimes opposite. But is this a sufficient reason to say that the audience is unprepared and to postpone the release of "Repentance" and films of a similar caliber? Georgian sociologists answered this question with a categorical no.

They recommended that the film should be broadcast on republic television and widely discussed in working collectives and local party and komsomol organizations. Their recommendations to the press were to public readers' letters about it and reviews which would discuss both positive and negative qualities of the film and explain its symbolism, artistic design, and the subjectivity of the director's interpretation--while at the same time defending his right to evaluate independently and to present the facts.

"All this is necessary," noted the recommendations prepared by the Public Opinion Study Center, "to avoid the very real danger that a spontaneous negative attitude might be formed and that the society might become disillusioned with its own past. It is important to strengthen the film's positive impact on the masses' social thinking and to focus the society's mood on solving important problems of the present and on fighting bureaucratism, formalism, deceptiveness, indifference, and other abnormalities."

Georgian party workers and sociologists displayed a brave, democratic, scientific, and wise approach to "Repentance." One of the results of their efforts is the fact that the film has been released all over the country. The profound gratitude that viewers have felt for the film's creators is due in large part to those who first requested that the film be made and then supported and defended it, finding the only possible solution to what was pointed out by the 27th CPSU Congress; to the broad democratic approach and

openness of those organizations whose function it is to bring culture to the masses, to their thorough competence and knowledge of what viewers need, and what people expect of cinema, literature, and our art in general. The solution lies in the reliable feedback of public opinion and in the knowledge of the public mood by those who are entrusted with decisionmaking in the area of cultural affairs.

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CSO: 1830/573

NEW MOSCOW FILM ON YOUTH PRAISED BY CRITIC AS 'PROFOUND'

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 May 87 p 8

[Article by Yuriy Gladilshchikov: "The Earthly Trials of Young C."]

[Text] I see two objections ahead, one now and the other later. But both of them (to judge from the opinions I have heard) will undoubtedly occur among people who have already managed to see the very funny and deceptively light comedy "The Messenger Boy."

But I am opening myself up to the question of whether or not it is possible to make such serious conclusions about such an amusing (we were really entertained!) movie.

And indeed, I am providing my opponents with ammunition to use against me. The Riga documentary "Is It Easy to Be Young?" is one thing. You watch it and realize that no one has ever spoken on screen so openly about the problems of young people or about the looming generation gap, and that no one has spoken so harshly to those who are no longer young and are responsible for the problems. And one would think Mosfilm's "The Messenger Boy" was a completely different one. Filmed and written by Karen Shakhnazarov and adapted for the screen by Aleksandr Borodyanskiy, the movie is about a young man who runs errands for a scientific journal, enjoying himself before army service is due to start. But if you look a little more closely, you see that the pain and tragedy of this movie are the same as those in the one I mentioned earlier. Pain? Tragedy? In a comedy? Yes, in a comedy.

I would put the main issue of the movie in the following simple form (at least it seems this way to me). Should they be the same as we are? "They" are the young men, not in terms of age, but in terms of our traditional old outlook, who represent the new generation starting its life; that is, those who are between 17 and 20. "We" (in the movie) are the adults between 40 and 50. The fact that the problem was brought up by Shakhnazarov, who, in the strict sense of the word, belongs neither to the young men or adults category (he falls in between) is quite interesting.

Almost all the adults in the movie proclaim loudly: "Yes, they should." Only one of the characters, a professor played by Oleg Basilashvili, makes his way from "yes" to "no." Firmly convinced that their "yes" is the correct response,



the adult characters in the movie are naturally filled with indignation at the idea that young people might not be the same as them. "What do they want," they ask? "What are they trying to say? What are they complaining about?" They obtain no answer, but it is easy to figure what it would be if we look at things through the eyes of the movie's young hero, who might say...Well, we need to put this as delicately as possible. Actually, since we have started, we might as well finish the job. He would answer that the adults have compromised themselves. I reiterate that these actual words are never said in the movie, but it is not difficult to extrapolate them.

It is clear that we are not going to get out of this without some questions. Who is this young hero whose thoughts we have so boldly commandeered? At this juncture, it is probably time for me to venture the second of the two objections I promised at the beginning of this article. I maintain that Shakhnazarov has created an absolutely new kind of social hero--almost a fighter.

Some people will certainly find this statement shocking. "What do you mean social," they will shout. "He doesn't show any sign of inclinations or aptitude in that direction. He is just plain infantile, immature, and devoid of any solid outlook on life." You will have to let me explain. After all, our interpretation of all this will depend on how we see the words "social" and "outlook." In my opinion, social is also an attribute of people besides tax collectors and stamp sellers, and should refer primarily to people who are moral, and, secondarily, to people who think. Stamps and thinking are of course not mutually exclusive, but unfortunately the former does not necessarily guarantee the presence of the latter. And an outlook does not absolutely have to be positive. Our messenger boy Ivan, who is charmingly played by Fedor Dunayevskiy, has a negative contemplative outlook. At his age, and with his mind, no other outlook would have been possible. His state of mind is a natural stage in his progression to a positive outlook.

The salient problem of our messenger boy, who has reached an age when people begin to think about the meaning of life for the first (and for some people the last) time, is that he sees what the adults have done as hopelessly negative. Quite naturally and justifiably, he rejects much of what he sees around him, including uniformity, uninspired demagoguery, conformity, and people who "take," but who live undistinguished pedestrian lives. Probably he feels that his mother (played beautifully with precision by Inna Churikova) is the best of the lot, but that even she has her problems, such as the vague ambitions that troubled her when she was young (perfectly stereotypical ambitions, by the way, such as becoming an actress, which have revived since her divorce). Her life has come to a halt and put her back at the beginning. He feels he can pity her, but that what she says cannot be trusted and her life does not warrant emulation.

Of course, Shakhnazarov has greatly simplified the situation by depicting all "adults" in black and white and leaving the entire generation of "grandparents" completely out of the picture. But he is not claiming to have discovered some universal truth or "model youth." Instead, he shows us a real-life situation, and a perfectly typical one at that.

The messenger boy does not yet know what to do with his life, but he realizes that what the adults around him suggest is fundamentally impossible for him. Nor is what his friends and coevals have to offer any better. Discotheques, cheap jokes, painted faces, and vacant eyes represent one of the "lower" circles he frequents. Rock video hits, talk about the latest fashions, foreign train rides, karate, painted faces, vacant eyes...But aren't these the same thing. Not at all. They represent a completely different and "higher" circle. Heaven protect us from the goings on in this circle, to say nothing of what is going on outside it. And there is break dancing in addition to everything else. And another problem (for us and for him) is that he sees perfectly that the "crew" he hangs with was brought into being by "rebellion" against conformity and some incipient opposition to uniformity and stereotypes, yet has created a greater uniformity and is fixated on recreation alone. Inside, they are slaves.

He feels that he needs something new, even though he does not yet know what, and even though it may be a native genuine inclination to resist any untruth or convention and make fun of things. Only once, when he tries to adapt, is he untrue to himself. In doing so, he convinces both himself and us that any such adaptation is impossible. During the celebration at the professor's home, the messenger boy appears in a suit and tie (looking like an adult for what is probably the first time in his life) and the central argument about young people unfolds. As is easy to predict, those people who have never discovered, stood up for, or invented anything are the first to wrathfully chastise the young people for breaking the rules. The scene itself is funny and grotesque, so much so that it is impossible to recount all its twists and turns. Some examples, however, include the person who finds the way his son drinks milk violently objectionable, and another who recalls that his own father beat him mercilessly until he was 17 years old. Finally unable to take it anymore, the messenger boy reassures them that everything is fine and there is no need to get excited: "Our insanity will pass, and we'll be just like you."

Naturally, the contrast between thinking "young people" and "non-thinking" adults leads us to some interesting thoughts. For example, we are trying to get young people to take their place as members of society. Or are we? Yes, we are. But what do we get as a result of having them adapt so hastily? What we get is not just healthy, mature, self-starting individuals, but obedient, sterile persons capable of fitting into any set of circumstances (well enough to make any actor schooled in the Stanislavskiy method green with envy)--the same set of circumstances, incidentally, that we are trying to change with the reforms now underway. What do we mean by obedient son? We mean that he is a good student, marries well, and so on. But even so, a person still may have to find himself. Perhaps the "insanity" of youth is not all that purposeless, and that what is important is to let the "insanity" pass in such a way that the individual's soul is left intact. Perhaps we need to slow down a little and look backward as we reach the threshold of adulthood. This is what the messenger boy is doing (before he flings himself headlong into the maelstrom of the future) as he waits until what is growing in his soul matures and the truth is completely mulled over and in its final form. It is easy to be young in a time of revolution and social upheaval, but in a time of collective insight it is very difficult.

At this point it would have been possible to end the movie, and the comments on it. But Shakhnazarov concluded it with an unusually powerful and genuinely tragic ending. The messenger boy remains alone, something emphasized by the difficulty of the choice he is about to face. His girlfriend breaks up with him and has a nervous breakdown. She has enough strength for making fun of things and nothing else. Her father--the same professor who later realizes that the messenger boy is not a bum and that the inability to be reconciled to apathy that he has lost still courses through the latter's veins--effectively betrays him.

It is evening. The lonely messenger boy is walking in thought, possibly thinking seriously for the first time about life, and gives his coat to a more needy friend (so what if he is going into the army) with a single request: "Wear it and dream of something lofty." Then while watching the breakdancers carefully performing their intricate sequences of moves, his gaze meets that of another person, this one in uniform. It is a soldier with a suitcase, returning home after duty, who looks at the breakdancers with terror and bitterness, wondering what strange shore he has washed up on, the scars on his cheeks testifying to service in Afghanistan. The messenger boy stare dumbstruck at him, leaving us to realize that he has a hard road ahead of him.

Is this comedy?

In a certain sense, "The Messenger Boy" is even more profound than "Is It Easy To Be Young?," which all movies, pictures, and novels about young people have to be compared to nowadays. "Is It Easy To Be Young?" informed and made us aware that the crisis of young people was attributable to the social crisis. In "messenger boy" this was already taken for granted. In the latter movie, it was not the crisis itself which was studied, but the "post-crisis" (as certain people love to put it) interaction of a young thinking hero with members of a generation whose times represented the pinnacle of quasi-truth and quasi-glasnost. And the fact that the hero's world will be far outside the realm of the schoolboy or ivory-tower thinker gives us hope that he will find a positive alternative, both in the practical and the theoretical sense.

We and those like us are not the same as he is.

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CSO:1800/641

## KAZAKH FILMS LACK CONTEMPORANEITY, LOCAL THEMES

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 29 May carries on page 3 a 2,700-word article by Asanali Ashimov, USSR People's Artist, USSR and KaSSR State Prize Laureate; Igor Vovnyanko, cameraman, KaSSR state prize laureate; Gulshana Aynaghulova, film critic, member of the All-Union Film Studies and Film Critics Section; and Qulbek Yergobekov, SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN reporter, entitled "Is Kazakh Film Making a Has-been?" The article is a strongly worded attack on "Qazaqfilm" for its failure to produce good quality films reflecting republic themes and suited to the needs of the times.

Specifically, Ashimov, Vovnyanko, Aynaghulova, and Yergobekov complain of a lack of cooperation between the "creative" individuals involved in the studio, a tendency to film "screenplays from outside," often bad screenplays rejected in some cases several times by other studios, failure to use a well equipped film production base well and productively enough ("Qyrghyzfilm" is, on the other hand, praised for doing a lot more with less), and failure to keep pace with technological advances.

To this end, Ashimov, Vovnyanko, Aynaghulova, and Yergobekov suggest a conscious effort to study the problems of the industry and, what is most important, an effort to solicit screenplays on local themes, reflecting local color by local writers. It is strongly suggested that the kind of relationship which "Qyrghyzfilm" enjoys with Aytmatov be established with noted Kazakh writers. One problem hindering this, however, is apparently a lack of Kazakh material for screenplays and of a component and well-trained Kazakh working group within "Qazaqfilm."

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CSO: 1832/0428



MOLDAVIAN FILM STUDIO PROGRESSIVE IN TRAINING DIRECTORS

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 11 Apr 87 p 4

[Interview with Emil Lotyanu, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Union of Cinematographers, by G. Pavlenko: "In Search of a Dialogue"; date and place not given; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] A film festival, called "The Times, The Cinema, and Us", dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, is getting underway in Moldavia. On the eve of this event, interviewed the artistic director of the Moldova-Film film studio, RSFSR Peoples Artist, Honored Artist of the Moldavian SSR, Chairman of the MSSR Union of Cinematographers, film producer Emil Lotyanu.

[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA] Emil Vladimirovich, many of our readers are interested in why it was necessary to call the planned event a "festival". What victories are Moldavian film-makers celebrating?

[Lotyanu] Unfortunately, I became associated with the organization of this event only when everything had already been decided. But even at this final stage, we are trying to change the character of the planned event, to remove what seems to be an aura of pomposity. We now anticipate that this will be a serious dialogue between us and the viewers. And there can be no doubt in the correctness of such a dialogue, in its absolute necessity, particularly following the unambiguous criticisms that have recently been levied on the film-making process both by the public and by the professionals -- by directors, critics and screen-writers. This is necessitated by the entire atmosphere of life that developed after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The film-makers, trying to bring order into their own "house" are looking intensely for a way out of their crisis; and this is an extremely sharp and painful process, one which is fraught with clashes and one which, most importantly, is certainly not a transient one, but rather a long, long process of learning. We need to learn to understand our own responsibility in the real, but for long years forgotten, sense of this word.

[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA] Who is taking part in this dialogue? What is the program for the event?

[Lotyanu] Our guests will include many of our colleagues from various union republics. This multinational character of the meeting is entirely consistent with the solemn date to which it is dedicated. It will give us an opportunity to acquaint ourselves with the directions which the country's film-makers are taking in their quest, especially now, following the 5th Congress of the USSR Union of Cinematographers, which established entirely new paths for our work.

One of the central events of the film dialogue will be the showing and discussion of the picture "Is it Easy to be Young", directed by Yu. Podnieks. This film, with its extremely modest beginnings -- from the small hall of the Rossiya motion picture theater -- can be likened today to a powerful river taking its sustenance from newer and newer strata of the viewer ocean. An extremely significant phenomenon for our entire film-making process as a whole. The picture is like a point of balance for the next steps both of Podnieks himself and in dealing with the problems of our entire documentary film industry.

We will also show new films by K. Shakhnazarov, Ye. Matveyev... Besides the Moscovites, our guests will include colleagues from Lenfilm, from Kiev, Odessa, from Estonia, Belorussia...

Moldova-Film is presenting "Iona", a work by V. Zheregim, "The Secret Prisoner" by V. Gazhinu, and "Who Will Go Into the Last Rail Car" by B. Konunov. I think that the repeat premiers of such films as "Bitter Kernels" and "The Last Month of Autumn" are certain to interest everyone, particularly as we look forward to the presence of Ye. Lebedev.

[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA] Emil Vladimirovich, as board chairman of the MSSR Union of Cinematographers and as the artistic director of a studio, what results do you expect from this festival, in what direction will future work be structured?

[Lotyanu] The MSSR State Committee for Cinematography (MSSR Goskino) Union of Cinematographers is taking energetic steps to change the climate and course of our national film-making industry. Unfortunately, the results will not quickly appear. Film-making seeds germinate slowly, but tomorrow's harvest will necessarily be a richer one. This is not merely an optimistic note, but a conviction based on knowledge of the potentials of our people's talent.

Our republic has for the first time been given the right to have its own directors' workshop at the Higher Directing and Screen-writing Courses in Moscow. This is a result of a great deal of work and of the good will of the USSR Goskino and the MSSR Council of Ministers -- an experiment such as this is being conducted for the first time in Soviet film-making.

Appreciating the extent of our responsibility and haven taking a critical look at the initial results of the republic's selection competition, we extended this competition. Our stubbornness has born tangible fruit. On the basis of personal experience -- and I have directed two similar all-union workshops -- I can assert that the group of selected Moldavian candidates is characterized by individuals of bright individualism, serious life experiences, and unqualified gifts. They now must pass a decisive examination in Moscow before

a threatening but fair commission consisting of two dozen of the country's leading film-makers.

A studio called "The Experiment" has begun operation at the Moldova-Film film studio, where young directors are being allowed to make short films under conditions of full freedom and independence. Funds for maintaining such a sub-unit are coming from the republic budget.

Even more complex, extensive, and pressing is our collective work to ensure that the Moldavian film-making industry and theater are supplied with gifted young people. The Moldavian Union of Cinematographers has taken upon itself the mission of going through all the schools in Moldavia -- and there are hundreds and hundreds of 10-year and technical vocational schools -- and of selecting from the 7th and 8th grades all the children who possess acting talent. There is an on-going discussion of creating a school of dramatic art.

We propose to establish closer collaboration with television for the benefit of both film and television viewers. We are carrying on negotiations regarding new television shows and series devoted to problems of the effectiveness of documentary film-making and to establishing a dialogue between the creators of artistic films and their viewers. We hope that television will become a stage for public opinion, so that the voices of all interested persons are heard from the screen. We hope that the artist and the viewer, equally enriching one another, will learn to be free and truthful in the process of personal contact.

So, here are our first problems and here are our first steps -- a part of that great path which Moldavian film-making is being called upon to follow. Unfortunately, these steps are being taken after a delay of almost 20 years.

Not everyone is prepared to understand completely both the complexity and the nobility of our final goal -- which is not a question of producing individual motion pictures, of greater or lesser quality, but of establishing a full-fledged school of Moldavian film-making. This is not only a problem. It is also an obligation -- a general one and one of every film-maker individually. Its solution would represent a concrete and a worth answer by our film-makers to the question of the real advantages of socialism.

As regards the festival ... Let it be called this, let it be a festive holiday, but not an idle one! Such events make no sense if they do not lead to a precise, specific program of action. The time is right. April...Spring...It is time to sow and to protect the shoots.

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CSO: 1800/650

FILM DIRECTORS RECEIVE RESPONSE TO APPEAL FOR MORE FILM

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 27, 12-19 Jul 87 p 13

[Text]

"Moscow News" No. 20 published an article "Festival and other concerns" about the meeting of A. Kamshalov, Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography (Goskino), with journalists. The article mentioned that seven film crews (including five from the Mosfilm Studios) wrote a letter to Yuri Besspalov, Minister of the Chemical Industry of the USSR, informing him that they had to stop shooting because of lack of film. The article said that there had been no reaction to that letter. We received a reply to our publication signed by N. Chekushkin, Deputy Chief of the Soyuzkhimfoto (photo-chemical association).

YURI BESPALOV forwarded his answer to the appeal of the leading film directors and cameramen of the Mosfilm Studios. The short supply of film in late 1986 and the first quarter of 1987 was due to the introduction of enhanced quality requirements under the state quality control system. The Svema production association has now introduced measures to ensure stability of the production of colour negative film. The Gosnikhimfoto-proyekt film-research institute has stepped up its control over the production of the film developed by its experts, and control over the fulfilment of the plan deliveries of film produced by Soyuzkhimfoto has been organized. A joint plan with the Mosfilm Studios to make up for undelivered quantities of film has been worked out and approved.

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## BULGAKOV'S 'DOG'S HEART' PREMIERES IN MOSCOW THEATER

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 26, 5-12 Jul 87 p 10

[Article by Konstantin Rudnitsky]

[Text]

NO, IT HASN'T. "A Dog's Heart" makes delightful reading. One has the impression that the writer's ink has not yet dried on the pages, so fresh is the text. Many social muddles and absurdities that first appeared in the 1920s and immediately attracted the writer's satirical eye have not disappeared. On the contrary, they have acquired monstrous proportions and oppressive force. The snarling Sharikov, a mongrel turned human, who preposterously regards himself a "working class element" entitled to privileges and therefore daring - from the appalling heights of his ignorance - to order about the very people who have introduced him to the world, is an easily recognizable type of the "nomenclatura" menials imagining themselves notables. What Bulgakov laughed at, is no laughing matter for us. Real life has transposed his humour into a satirical key. One gets the impression that the story might not have ended in Sharikov's death the way Bulgakov wrote it. Sharikov seems to have survived, successfully married and multiplied, so that today his numerous replicas in tailored suits and ties, with attaché cases and college degrees, occupy numerous departmental offices, resolving nothing and authorizing nothing...

Similarly, Time has transposed into

the satirical key the humorous topic of disorganization, which could, in the 1920s, be accounted for by the consequences of the Civil War. However, even then, such an explanation did not seem convincing to the story's main character, Professor Preobrazhensky. Today, we can only interpret this theme the way the professor does: disorder and disorganization that have survived to date are the result of poor work done by the people who either work at jobs they are unsuited for, or don't do their professional duties at all, relying mostly on "chorus singing", i.e., conferences, meetings, consultations, discussions, etc. It is window-dressing that breeds disorder.

Bulgakov's fantasies and metaphors hit the nail on the head. Therefore, people have been avidly reading "A Dog's Heart".

Nevertheless, I will admit that stage director Henrietta Yanovskaya's idea of producing "A Dog's Heart" for the theatre seemed rather risky to me, and I anxiously contemplated seeing it. Firstly, because we have lost (or never acquired?) the knack of staging Bulgakov, so that in recent years, with the single exception of "The Master and Margarita" produced at the Taganka Theatre, there have been no successful stage versions of Bulgakov's prose. Secondly, I doubted very

much that the god-forsaken Young Spectator Theatre, where classes of school children are brought as part of their compulsory school programme, was likely to become a scene of theatrical revelation.

Having heard that a talented young director, Yanovskaya, was invited to produce the play, I also heard that the company gave her a very hostile reception, which did not augur well for the play. A company rent by conflict can never produce anything good.

Nevertheless, the moment the play began I felt fascinated and stimulated.

Backstage, there stood dark Egyptian columns covered in golden cuneiforms. What was the meaning of that mysterious temple, and how did it relate to the ordinary cupboard, dinner table and chairs - the furnishings of an unpretentious Moscow flat - in the foreground? Who were the people who came and sat down on the edge of the stage, their feet dangling, their throats producing a piteous wailing, and their eyes looking searchingly into the audience's faces? What did they want from us? What were they waiting for? Why was their wailing suddenly drowned in the glorious and well-familiar marches, airs and choruses from Verdi's "Aida"? What had Verdi to do with it all? In the final analysis, these

questions have all been answered articulately and convincingly by the play, artfully and lovingly made on the basis of Bulgakov's text by Alexander Chervinsky, designed by Sergei Barkhin, and throbbing, apart from Verdi, with the cold and unreal waves of music composed by Yakov Yakulov. But before we got all those answers, we were carried away into the inimitable world of Bulgakov's characters by the absorbed and reckless, sly and challenging acting. The rules of play had been set with inspiration and ingenuity by director Yanovskaya, who seemed obedient to Bulgakov and yet quite self-assertive. Of course, she had noticed that Sharikov (the ex-mongrel Sharik whom Professor Preobrazhensky turned into a human being by dint of an unprecedented medical experiment) resembled Prisyptkin, the character from Mayakovsky's satirical comedy, "The Bedbug" (written three years after "A Dog's Heart" and possibly under Bulgakov's influence). With remarkable expressivity, actor A. Vdovin showed the transformation of a nice mongrel into an aggressive lout of a man. The scene showing Sharikov gobbling up soup, meat and green onions at the professor's table, washing it down with vodka from a decanter is a miracle of directing and acting. One can well understand the open disgust in the eyes of Zina the maid (actress N. Korchagina) and Darya Petrovna the cook (actress L. Larionova) as they watch that subhuman creature. It seems right that temperamental Bormenthal, the professor's assistant, attempts to kill him, too.

Yet, for director Yanovskaya, Sharikov's loutish and base nature, which

so perturbs Professor Preobrazhensky, is no more than a starting point for the contemplation of the ethical implications of a scientific experiment. For her, the fact that Sharikov is the social antithesis to his creator is not the main thing. No doubt, there is a world of difference between the unbridled vulgarity of the professor's brainchild and the professor himself. Actor V. Volodin presents the professor as quintessentially noble, dignified and cultured. Little wonder that the leather-clad Sharikov has an instinctive aversion to Preobrazhensky and Bormenthal (enacted with genuine fervour by A. Dolgorukov).

It is also crystal-clear that the go-ahead young people from the housing administration, who are trying to "expropriate" the professor's large flat and "set him right" ideologically, are Sharikov's kith and kin, even though the surgeon's scalpel never went near them. Their aplomb and immutable self-confidence, their implicit belief in having the right to dictate and order about the scientists, writers and artists are deliberately played down in the play, as compared with Bulgakov's story. Not because the director is lenient towards such persons, but because Yanovskaya chooses to emphasize another collision, prophetically revealed in "A Dog's Heart".

The director questions the right of a scientist, however great and unselfish in his quest for the truth, to go ahead with the experiment whose consequences are unpredictable. Where can our innate thirst for knowledge, which fuels the progress of all science, take us? It is highly symptomatic that as the professor speaks with despair about his unique and pioneering work: "What is the good of it, I ask you now?" - the audience welcome this fatal question with applause.

Today, this problem obviously stands out in "A Dog's Heart" as the most topical one. It is perceived as such by those honest scientists who have been shut off from their own

discoveries, used against their will and expectations. It is equally disturbing for the people far removed from science, who are perfectly aware of the grave consequences its irreversible developments might have in various areas, from nuclear physics to manipulation of human consciousness. In the 20th century, pure science has too often threatened the world with tragedy. Director Yanovskaya has picked this topic up and amplified it masterfully in her rendition of Bulgakov's text, if only to remind us of Hiroshima and Chernobyl.

Professor Preobrazhensky was lucky in that he managed to cut his experiment short and return Sharikov back to a nice dog. In the modern era, we can hardly count on such luck. Thus, the play is not confined to the atmosphere of the 1920s, but refers to our times. "Aida", of which Professor Preobrazhensky is a great admirer, is a link between the past and the present. Personages from Verdi's opera, dressed in exotic costumes and gracefully imitating Egyptian figurines, provide a delightful counterpoint for the fire department's brass band, repeatedly appearing on the stage - along with newspaper reporters seeking a sensation, curious old women and an old crumbly looking for rejuvenation at the professor's hands. There are three men from Lubyanka in the play, too. They stand guard over the professor's research - and will probably arrest him sooner or later. The motley crowd is full of character, whimsical and volatile, as befits Bulgakov's fantasy. The action, too, now soars to the heights of tragedy, now falls down to earth in comic relief.

Moscow's Young Spectator Theatre is a changed place on the nights when "A Dog's Heart" is on: "there's a line at the booking office, and a crowd inside", as Mayakovsky once put it. Outside, too, a large crowd is milling. That the play is a success is undeniable: an unexpected tribute to Bulgakov.

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CSO: 1812/0245

# DRAMA STUDIOS ON INCREASE

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 27, 12-19 Jul 87 p 13

[Article by Alexander Svobodin]

[Text]

IF SHAKESPEARE'S formula "all the world's a stage" is true (which it is), one proof is the mushrooming drama studios in this country. The fact that they are on the increase is perhaps the most encouraging development in the theatrical world. Tell me how many drama studios you have, and I will tell you what kind of theatre you have! This is how the much used saying can be rephrased.

The reader may ask: what's so new about drama studios? We have always had amateur drama companies, and drama groups at community centres. But there is a world of difference between an amateur drama company, however good, and a drama studio. Unlike the former which is set up, a drama studio materializes.

For dozens of years amateur activities have been rigidly controlled. Amateur actors were told what to play, dance and sing. They had directors appointed from above. They were provided with "instruction" and one-act plays were published for them. Many departments kept tabs on them. Amateur drama companies and groups have always been supposed to resemble "the real theatre" albeit of lower standards.

True, some amateur companies are transformed into drama studios. This hardly happens at all but if it does, the emerging studios tend to hide the fact because such things "have not been authorized".

But such things should be authorized. There should be more such studios. Why?

A drama studio is the highest form of non-formal (unofficial) youth associations. Their artistic ideas and ways of expressing them are unpredictable. They provide conditions for self-expression and generate a democratic climate. In some sense a drama studio can be more than a family to its members. It is something badly needed by young people. In it young people learn to communicate and become exposed to cultural values. Drama studios can form bases for cultural centres for the

young. The need for such centres is increasingly discussed in the media. Some of their possible forms are suggested in some entertainment telecasts. How come that the theatre, an ideal medium to help the young to find their identity, happens to be ignored by many young people? Why doesn't television make full use of it?

The fact of the matter is that drama studios (I count among them those formed by professionals and amateurs) used to be dreaded. On occasion "correct" amateur companies rejected drama studios as they would some "grafts". One example is the studio Our House that was thrown out of Moscow University club in Mokhovaya Street. More examples can be given. There are now examples of the opposite happening. Moscow now has more than ten non-formal studios. The Main Department for Culture has come up with a commendable initiative setting up a pilot self-supporting theatrical association called EKHO. Sociologists, economists and jurists linked with theatre have worked out a set of provisions concerning such associations. Ideally, any institution which can afford it can have its own "miniature" stage company. Where there's a will, you know.

The incipient form may become quite widespread. Both district and city Soviets have some fears that the theatre "cells" would start multiplying spontaneously. Youngsters from the studios are turning to them for help to repair the premises and buy building materials. Some officials feel (I was about to say "naturally feel") like stifling this trend, but they ought not to do this at all. The aura of drama studios, whether successful or not (I envisage hundreds of them in Moscow alone), will secure a change in Moscow's theatre world. The studios will be, as in fact some are, generating new ideas and competing with professional companies. They will provide cultural motivations for the young.

Drama studios shouldn't be dreaded!

UKRAINIAN NOVEL PUBLISHED IN RUSSIAN AFTER 20 YEARS

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 May 87 p 2

[Article by L. Terakopyan: "Twenty Years Later: "The Cathedral" in Russian by Oles Gonchar"]

[Text] The meeting with Oles Gonchar is a source of both joy and sadness.

The joy comes from the meeting actually having taken place, the sadness from the fact that it came 20 years late.

To the Ukrainian reader, "The Cathedral" is a work of the late 60's. Yet to the Soviet reader as a whole, it is a work of the late 80's, since it was only recently released by Izvestiya publishers. Such are the vagaries of the literary process.

When the book first came out, someone decided that Gonchar was laying it on a little too thick and deprecating our achievements. Someone else read between the lines and found his atheism to be flawed. And someone else...well, never mind. Doubts and rumors started. All the same, the book continued its active (but surreptitious) career among Ukrainian readers. Hardly mentioned publicly, it had a great impact on both writers and readers alike, with its salutary effect on the region's prose still in evidence.

Alas, the efforts of the zealous proscribers were in vain; their denunciations were wasted. For "The Cathedral" contains none of what they sought in it: no calumny, no rhapsodies of religious morality, and no retreat from our atheist principles. The book is about something entirely different. It deals with the pain of an artist, his anguish, and his concern for peoples' spiritual health.

Of course when we read the novel today, we can feel the difference in times. Any way you look at it, the book deals with the early 60's and is full of material specific to the time. Many of its issues are no longer relevant, and many of its problems have already solved themselves. Regardless, the passions which motivate the heroes are far from a thing of the past. Indeed, we can now see how farsighted the author was and how accurately he predicted the conflicts and controversies that would embroil literature in the 70's and 80's.



The polyphony of "The Cathedral" includes philosophical, moral, historical, and ecological motifs. Everything in the book is linked together and weighed against everything else in the book. Thus, eternity and the present moment, a grain of sand and the universe, and people and nature all find themselves judged relative to each other. A stalk of withered spurge, turned rank by factory smoke, sounds the general alarm: "What is going to happen to us? What will happen to people, factories, and the cathedral?" The flakes of soot clouding the air also force us to reflect on the global problems of civilization, to ponder how many such flakes fall daily on industrial Zacheplyanka and steppe-situated Vovchugi, covering their roofs, fields, and trees. "No one who lives there, near one of the factories, ever sees white snow in winter. And the minute you hang your sheets out they turn black."

Gonchar's tale is infused by a dream of harmony--which is also the glue that holds the book together--between technological and spiritual progress, between city and village, and between individual and society. Nor is there any complacency or idyllic conceit in his romantic dream. In fact, it awakens a sense of unrest and heightens our critical keenness.

As "The Cathedral" proceeds from episode to episode, there is a growing feeling "of something disturbing in the world, that it is being used as a proving ground." This feeling derives not only from the specter of a senseless nuclear apocalypse, but from other dangers looming over the world as well. These include the toxic chemical wastes poisoning our water, the curtains of industrial smoke spread across the heavens, the insidious acid rains that eat through foliage, soil erosion, and the no less malevolent erosion of the human soul.

Most modern readers are probably familiar with all these unhappy revelations. After all, they have personal memories of the Chernobyl tragedy, the catastrophic shoaling of the Aral Sea, and the many years of battle to save Lake Baikal and the rivers of the north. And the readers remember V. Rasputin's "Parting with Matyera," V. Kozko's "The Crooked Road," A. Nurpeisov's "Duty," A. Alimzhanov's "The People's Road," and other books.

The very ideas our literature espouses about ecology have changed. They have become more mature and exacting. But this is the situation now. Twenty years ago we were still hearing fanfares in honor of our ability to recast nature, panegyrics to the canals and seas we built, and praise for the encroachment of industry on collective farm meadows and fields. Oles Gonchar was one of those who broke through the inertia of enthusiasm and returned realistic and sober judgement to art.

Let me state emphatically that I am in no way trying to cast aspersions on A. Dovzhenko's brilliant, genuine, lyrical "Poem of the Sea." The heroes of the "Poem" live for the sake of their hopes and dreams, leaving their gardens and homes in the belief that their sacrifice will bring about a better tomorrow. For the heroes of "The Cathedral" the same boundless Kakhov reservoir that has swallowed up the fertile black earth lands is a smarting wound--a burning reproach. "They've sunk half the Ukraine and driven out countless villages. They came here to construct a sea, and they built a swamp instead. There's rot throughout; it's stinking up the whole Ukraine. Pilots plug their noses when

they fly over it." Instead of being delighted, the old metallurgist Izot Loboda becomes furious when he discovers the latest hare-brained scheme; that is, to destroy the Skarbnoye park and build a vegetable farm in place of the bottoms and oaks. He states: "I can't believe they're actually going to take over Skarbnoye too. If they drain it, nothing will be left. We won't even have fog anymore. Don't you understand! We won't even have fog in the morning anymore!"

Is fog a good argument against pragmatic utilitarianism? And is the rustling of reeds a good argument against tomato plantations? Indeed they are. And within the artistic framework of the book, they represent irresistible, unimpeachable arguments. This is because Gonchar's criteria for truth are always tied to beauty and to the superior power of beauty. For Gonchar, beauty is unique and beyond value, and damage done to it is irremediable. In his view, damage is done not only to the environment, but to the spiritual estate of man as well.

And not without reason, the image of the cathedral becomes the key metaphor and multiple-meaning symbol of the novel.

No matter what route Gonchar's heroes take to get home, they can always see the heavenward rising silhouette of the cathedral. "That's how they built it. No matter how far you go, even to the bottoms, you can still see it. The cathedral can be seen from any point!" And in its turn, the poetic cathedral theme weaves opportunities for the rest of the story to be told in, offering different fabrics and textures of plot, and different threads and colors from which to weave them.

The cathedral is an example of the artistry of the architect--and of aesthetic harmony.

The cathedral is a witness to the history of a people, and is the focus of their disputes about their cultural heritage.

A figure out of legend, the cathedral imbues the book with a certain epic tone, standing throughout as the symbol of the ages and giving the novel broader scope. Its stone arches recall the pharisaical preaching aimed at placating the poor, the heated debates in which the Cossack Nestor and Professor Yavornitskiy battled the anarchistic Hetman Makhno, who acknowledged no laws, the daring assault on the fascist convoy by the resistance, and the sad processions of captives being marched into fascist slavery.

In his restoration of a chronicle of events, the Ukrainian artist is no less compelling than actual history and the dramatic complexity of the lessons it has taught us. Indeed, industrial Zacheplyanka has not forgotten when the cathedral wallowed in luxury, when "the fat popes grew even fatter here." Nor do we fail to understand the wrath of the poor towards those who clouded their heads with icon-lamp fumes and promises of an impossible paradise beyond the grave. Ultimately, the objects of this wrath extended beyond just the self-righteous and sanctimonious individuals, and included, unfortunately, the sacred building itself, which was ostracized, turned into a feed storage area,

converted to a never-completed museum, and in general neglected and uncared for.

These vagaries of the revolutionary era are not difficult to understand, since they occurred at a time when passions were aflame, the tremendous energy of social discontent was being released, and justifiable hostility was the norm. But are the feelings of those hungry, lawless, wretched men who rallied "on the maidan next to the church" mutually identifiable with the fussing of a broken Volodka Loboda and his parasitic companions, who even now, in the second half of the 20th century, raise their voices against "the proud poem of steppe Cossack architecture" and are obsessed with the idea of building a "model enclosed market" or, if worse were to come to worst, a shishkebab restaurant in its place. The contempt for the church in revolutionary times stemmed from hatred of oppressors, from unbounded enthusiasm, and from a search for progress. It is completely unlike this latter-day contempt, which is dull complacency, bureaucratic inability to see beauty, and threadbare attempts to please one's bosses. The former attitude derived from the painful realization of new ideals, the latter from speculating in those ideals.

It is noteworthy that this edition of Gonchar's "Cathedral" also includes his novel "Your Dawn" in the same volume. The two are natural and complementary companions. In this form, the two books can be seen as a kind of dialogue or as two links in a chain of thought on the destiny of mankind. And there are the inevitable parallels between the characters, between the ecological, spiritual, and moral situations, and between the fate of the cathedral and the fate of the Roman-Stepnyak garden, which is destroyed by the envious demagogues. In "Your Dawn" Andrey Galaktionovich, the country teacher and hero of the book states: "No sooner does one person build a temple to Diana than another is seeing it thorough the eyes of Herostratus." A sweeping statement, this comment could have been taken from "The Cathedral," which is permeated by the antithetical themes of creation and destruction, good and evil, and love and hate.

The eternal struggle between the two principles--the creative impulse of Prometheus and the blasphemous one of Herostratus--colors all the issues dealt with in the book. The matters the author deals with have many faces and assume many shapes as they manifest nature's dark, enervating, mocking aspect of volatility and cataclysm, ranging from the vandalism wrought by Makhno's freemen to today's attacks on the cathedral, the picturesque bottoms of Skarbnoye, and the cleanness of the sky, and from suspicion to various forms of selfishness and stealing. There are still so many people who live only for the present moment and immediate profit, leaving nothing but a devastated barrenness behind them, be it in nature, culture, or in people's hearts.

And what about the creative force, which also traces its lineage back into the adyts of history? Included in this lineage are the ancient ploughmen who broke "new ground in the steppes and were described by Herodotus," the brilliant architects who built the cathedral, and the unknown craftsmen who divined the secret of making steel, along with the romantics and knights of revolution, the creators of our time, and all people working to make the world a place with more good and beauty.



The heroes of "Your Dawn" undertake a pilgrimage that takes them abroad, to distant America, in order to locate a certain slavie or peasant Madonna that has been stolen by the fascists. This Madonna is an artistic marvel which depicts Nadka, a village maiden and the daughter of Roman-Stepnyak, a persecuted and calumniated kulak.

The heroes of "The Cathedral" also pay homage to a miracle of art. And each of them overcomes the burden of error, illusion, and intentional or unintentional delusion in his own way.

One example of this is the young anarchist Yagor Katratyy, who first begins to doubt the wisdom of his idol Makhno in front of the cathedral and refuses to shoot the intransigent Professor Yavornitskiy.

Another is the artillery commander who breaks through to the Dniepr at the height of the war and undergoes a sudden inner change. Although he and his coevals, also convinced atheists, found it easy to knock down church walls ten years earlier, shouting: "If something by Rublev gets in your way, show it no mercy! He needs to be destroyed just as much as the rest," something stops him now and forces him to issue an order sparing the blue cupolas, which have somehow remained intact among the general destruction and which are already in the unit's gunsights.

Indeed, beauty is fragile, vulnerable, and defenseless, but it also has a curative dimension. It liberates and elevates man, spurs him on to perfection, and motivates him to weigh the meaning of life against what is eternal and great. It is as if the ancient architecture itself tests Mikola Baglay, asking: "Will you ever create anything equal to this, or anything surpassing it?"

Gonchar's entire tale is built on contrasting feelings, acts, and ideals.

No matter what the conflicts the novel is dealing with, all of them become discussions of beauty, since for Ukrainian letters beauty is the true criterion of scientific, technological, and social progress. Moreover, beauty is the natural principle whose vocation is to save man from alienation, superficiality, and degradation.

A world which alienates and repudiates beauty is doomed to poorness and decline. We need only remember the oppressive sight of uniform concrete boxes and the endless chain of depressing smog-enshrouded industrial cities stretching along the American highways travelled by the heroes of "Your Dawn." "Millions of people live here, yet the impression is one of absolute and terrifying lifelessness." This is how it ends when technology becomes a fetish, and when one-sided, ugly, inhuman industrial development is allowed to take place. Thus, the conflicts of "The Cathedral" bear a message of warning that we are in disharmony with nature, the values of our intellectual culture, and the lessons of history.

The image of the eternal Cossack cathedral embodies "the spirit of human life on earth, concord, and the harmony of being--a spirit destined to unite mankind and embrace everything on earth." And of course everything will be



united not under the aegis of religion, but under the aegis of humanism, beauty, and creativity.

Of course it is a pity that Gonchar's novel tends toward liberal use of symbolism and metaphor, intellectual tension, and global generalizations, and fails at times to limit itself to the philosophical and poetic sphere, where the analytical spirit itself would indicate it should have remained. Another flaw that is present is what L. Novichenko called "the author's descriptive relation of psychological states," as well as a certain tendency to overdraw the character of Mikola Baglay. As soon as the passion of his confession subsides, unimportant details enter the picture. It is difficult to say for certain whether this novel, if it were being written now, would have been different. Some things might have changed, but not the most important ones, since they still represent pressing contemporary issues. The book is a protest against historical memory failure, a series of wrathful invectives aimed at the power of destruction, and a statement of how people are interconnected and jointly responsible for creating more good. In the context of the book, the struggle for the cathedral is the struggle of man himself for completeness and harmony of being. Hence, the following appeal of one of the heroes: "Guard the cathedrals of your souls, my friends. The cathedrals of your souls!"

This work of Gonchar's, which is now available to Soviet readers, will increase their understanding of Ukrainian fiction and the global problems of our time.

13189  
CSO: 1800/641

'FORGOTTEN' WRITER DOBYCHIN REHABILITATED

Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 12, Mar 87 pp 11-13

[Article by Marina Chukovskaya: "Aloneness"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Excerpts] In a recent interview with LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, D. S. Likhachev said: "The time has long since come for us to begin to 'turn over' archival 'fallow land'. To open wide the doors for the literature which we have suppressed for so long. To return it to the people, to our culture." Among the undeservedly forgotten writers, Academician Likhachev repeatedly mentioned the name of L. I. Dobychin. A fierce opponent of narrow-minded thinking, uniquely talented, abrupt, different from everyone else, Dobychin did not succeed in writing a great deal, but that which he did create is true literature. We publishing here some recollections about L.I. Dobychin and about four of his small stories.

The story "Meetings with Liz" was published in 1924 in the journal "Russkiy Sovremennik". Among the outpouring of prose in the 1920's, prose that was frequently ornate, wordy, decorated with meaningful ellipses, this story called attention to itself. With the great taste and tact of a delicate artist, the author had succeeded in finding a laconic and precise language which naturally flowed together with its contents. Unusual also was the somewhat conservative style of the story. Nobody talked about the author's name: nobody knew L. Dobychin from Bryansk.

We soon became acquainted with him at the home of K. I. Chukovskiy. Dobychin had called on him, as one of the editors of "Russkiy Sovremennik", after his arrival in Leningrad.

Korney Ivanovich praised the story. Dobychin listened silently, pleased, creating flashes with the lenses of his pince-nez.

There was nothing remarkable about his appearance. Short, rather compact, neatly dressed, with a head clean shaven to a luster, this 30-year old man looked like a typical office employee of the time, and not at all like the author of a pointed story. Bright eyes, covered by old-style pince-nez without rims, an indistinct voice, a laugh not exactly like a bird's screech, not exactly like a sobbing sound -- everything was ordinary. And only the bitter, sensitive creases of a turned-down mouth and an unexpected habit of

wringing his hands so that his knuckles cracked gave away the tragic nature of his character.

He soon left again for Bryansk, where he worked in some kind of institution - by education he was an economist and had graduated from the Leningrad Polytechnical Institute.

He went, and, to our amazement, letters began to rain in. In these short letters, he wrote about everything -- and nothing about himself, about what one might guess was his difficult life. Sometimes he wrote in detail what kind of weather they were having in Bryansk. At times he described a conversation with someone or another, at times he described his coworkers. It seemed that he had been forced to remain silent all day, that he had nobody to talk to. And in the evening he would take long, narrow sheets of paper, God only knows where he got them from in these difficult, poverty-stricken years, and would quickly fill them in his precise, fastidious hand, sharing his impressions of the day. At times, he sent a story which he had handwritten on a small, narrow sheet -- I remember how "Konopatchikova" tumbled out of an envelope.

In about 1930 or 1931, he again appeared in Leningrad and came to us; we somehow at once got to talking with him, became friends, and he began to visit us frequently. Dobychin never said anything either about himself or about his family. We learned by accident that his mother was a midwife, well-known in Dvinsk, who practiced her profession in the "good homes".

Leonid Ivanovich chatted easily about unimportant matters, could easily remain silent, and it was simply natural to be with him. With youthful egoism, we involved him in our own interests. He willingly came into our life, into our everyday existence.

By this time, two collections of his stories had come out -- "Meetings with Liz" and "A Portrait".

Possibly these tiny stories will at first seem monotonous. Indeed, even the background against which the action takes place is one and the same in almost all his little stories. A city square, a small square with a monument in the center, small houses with shutters on the windows, sheds... The landscape is also cheerless -- a small river, beyond the river a knoll with small gardens, the black twigs of the trees. The moon, dolefully illuminating this squalid life. Or dusty, parching heat.

But, from the very first page, the short, precise phrases, like a whistling whip, rain down without mercy of any kind on human vulgarity and stupidity. And in almost all of the stories -- death or burials. It is as if the author wants to show that the fools who people his stories are in equal measure obtuse and react indifferently to everything, and that even death, for them, is a source of the same petty amusement as are all other phenomena of life. Read -- and you will be horrified by unrelieved vulgarity and stupidity.

And perhaps the author is simply a dull misanthrope?

But could a misanthrope really write a Chekhov-like lyrical story such as "The Father"? Subtle note is made in it of the feelings of a father who has thought about marrying and bringing into his family a stepmother to his sons. Would a "misanthrope" be able to portray a small boy so tenderly, lovingly in the story "The Sailor"? Would he be able, without a single false note, to describe a day that was full of events for Leshki, to show his childlike admiration for the sailor?

What kind of misanthropy is there here? A hatred of vulgarity, a hatred of stupidity, but not of people!

In Leningrad, many people read "Meetings with Liz" and "The Portrait" and many liked the small books. Printings in those times were tiny. Their modest success encouraged the author and from his stingy comments about himself we understood that he would like to give up his position in Bryansk, return to Leningrad, and become a professional writer. He made this decision and moved. About him, we knew that he was renting a room, was leading an unsettled life, and was having no success at all in obtaining his own place to live in Leningrad.

And everything ended with him having to again return to Bryansk and to again take up the work he hated.

And again letters streamed in from Bryansk. Leonid Ivanovich often recalled his life in Leningrad. "And do you remember how you once gave me a great deal of praise?" -- he unexpectedly concluded one letter. In another he wrote how his Chief had called him in (he always wrote chief with a capital letter). "Tell me, aren't you the Dobychin who writes little books?" "I am". "Hm," said the Chief, "This is no light matter!...".

He stubbornly searched for possibilities to come back to Leningrad, petitioning for a room, with difficulty obtaining release from the position which he hated.

He returned to Leningrad sometime at the end of 1934 or at the beginning of 1935. Through the Writers' Union he obtained a room in Moyka, in a large communal apartment. And it seemed that he was finally firmly based on Leningrad.

He continued to visit us almost daily. We were so accustomed to his visits that on a day when he occasionally did not appear even the children asked with surprise: "And where is Leonid Ivanovich?" And our small son would meet his arrival with the exultant cry: "Lidivanchik has come!"

It never entered our heads what a weakness Leonid Ivanovich had for children. But he related to them clumsily, awkwardly.

I recall how he once said in his somewhat indistinct voice:

"I will tell you a story..."

Of course the children greedily prepared themselves to listen.



He began, smiling:

"There was a fox" And once it started to walk... It walked, and walked, and walked, ...and walked, and walked, and walked, and walked, and walked..."

Little by little the ends of his mouth began to drop. He never finished the story, of course. Thus, nobody every found out where the fox was going. And the children ran off in different directions without listening to the end.

With embarrassment, Leonid Ivanovich grew silent, sobbed with his screeching laugh, cracked his knuckles, grabbed his cap, said his goodbyes, and left.

It was painful and uncomfortable for him.

"Tata, give me your album and I'll write you a verse," he once said to our daughter.

She did not have any kind of "album", and he wrote it in a notebook:

"Once there was a boy who lived with his mother,  
with an interesting, plump lady.

'Mama, let us buy a red necktie!'

'Oh, stop, you blockhead, please!'"

He used to talk venomously and good-naturedly about the writer Gor, with whom he had also made friends:

"Children in close quarters bother Gor. And so he sits down at the table, takes a stick in his left hand, and without looking, brandishes it behind his back, driving the children off, while he writes with his right hand."

"I was coming up the stairs to the Kaverins. Suddenly, behind me, somebody is out of breath. I look around. It's their daughter, who is coming home from school. 'Natasha, why are you panting'. 'I've come unbuttoned...'. And her cheeks red as red can be. A fat little thing."

And he puffed out his cheeks to show how Natasha's cheeks looked, laughing with good humor.

He made friends with the Kaverins, the Slonimskiys, the Shvartzes, with Gor, with Rakhmanov. He used to go to the Hermitage, to exhibitions, with Slonimskiy's wife, he would go around to the commission stores in search of old china with Yekaterina Ivanovna Shvartz,, and he enjoyed going with me to the movies and shopping.

He loved Kaverin and used to make affectionate fun of him:

"Venichka was nonetheless an ardent gymnast, in a jacket which he had outgrown. The sleeves were short, his red arms stuck out."

I remember that I was once playing him a Ravel sonatina. He was listening

thoughtfully.

"It is if someone is standing at the window, and the rain is coming down," he said softly when I had finished. And suddenly he began to crack his knuckles, a sure sign of his emotional agitation.

What else can I recall about him?

He loved Dickens, "The Pickwick Club" especially. We often vied with one another in recalling funny scenes from the book and he would laugh his sobbing, screeching laugh, which he always suddenly cut short, as if it were chopped off.

Incorrectness of speech, even conversational, painfully grated on him. I remember how, snorting with disdain, he said that not everybody senses the difference between "odel" (he dressed) and "nadel" (he put on). "It is possible to dress someone, but it is necessary to put something on oneself. Words must be used very precisely."

He was jealous of Zoshchenko, who then was extremely well-known and with whom, it would seem, he had much in common. He once came and said that O. Forsh had invited him to her home for an evening get-together. Zoshchenko would be reading his new work. "It will be especially interesting to you," she had stressed meaningfully.

"But I won't go... Why should I?"

He shrugged his shoulders, cracked his knuckles, and the corners of his mouth drooped resentfully. It seemed as if he were about to start crying.

Among the residents of the apartment in which Dobychin settled, there was a young man, one . . . P. Drozdov, a worker who had once been a homeless waif. In the words of Stenich, who lived for a long time in this apartment, there was certainly nothing remarkable about him. This was a healthy and somewhat dull little man.

Gradually Shurka came to be mentioned more and more often in Leonid Ivanovich's conversations. "Shurka said," "Shurka did," "Shurka and I...". He began more and more often to tell about their joint walks, their conversations, and with badly concealed jealousy, about Shurka's adventures in love. Judging from Leonid Ivanovich's stories, there was nothing interesting for us in Shurka. But we took joy in the ardent attraction of the lonely Dobychin, which had brightened his life. Through the usually derisive words of Leonid Ivanovich, with his sad and difficult life, one could clearly hear his admiration for and delight in Shurka, this young man who so confidently occupied his own place in life.

And when "The City N" came out -- a book in which Dobychin placed much hope, a very open and autobiographical book -- we were very surprised when we saw on its first page a dedication to A. P. Drozdov.

And, very likely, Shurka, flattered by the dedication, even read "The City N".

Leonid Ivanovich was certain that the appearance of the "City N" would be a great literary event. Excitedly, he waited for the reviews, the articles. But there were none. The book was liked by a narrow circle of readers, as always happened with Dobychin's works.

And he began to write a new piece. This time he planned a long story about the far-away countryside, about the muzhiks.

I remember that he read us pieces from his new story. Ruthlessly, coldly and dispassionately, in Gorkiy-like tones, he described a small-minded and savage life in the country.

By no means had he donned rose-colored glasses,

He was not able to finish this story.

In January 1936, the well-known article "Confusion Instead of Music" appeared in PRAVDA. And thus began a search for formalists in all areas of art, along with incomparably cruel reprisals against defenseless people.

The Leningrad section of the Writers' Union, with feverish speed, reacted to this article with the usual "measures".

I remember the packed hall of the Mayakovskiy House. Everyone was distracted, frightened. Who will be executed? Who will turn out to be the sacrificial lamb? Under their breath, glancing around, they speak the names of Eykhenbaum, Sklovskiy, Tynyanov -- respected, recognized "formalists". Their names would not be suggested to the nearest executioner, many of which -- alas! -- are showing up.

Dobychin also came to the meeting. Like everyone else, perplexed, shrugging his shoulders, he chatted with acquaintances and humbly took a seat among the audience.

And nobody could ever have imagined what happened after this.

I don't remember who spoke first. After two or three general phrases, the speaker immediately named the name of the intended victim.

This was L. I. Dobychin. His books "The Portrait" and "The City N"...

And the horrifying, earlier-prepared accusations rained down on the unlucky author. The speakers accused Dobychin of all the unforgivable sins of that time.

One after another, all the speakers proceeded to tear down this man, a stranger, unknown to them. Well, given the will, it is possible to destroy anybody you want...

A dead silence reigned in the overfilled hall, from time to time broken by frightened whispers: Who is the Dobychin? Is he here? Where? A large portion of the audience did not recognize him by face.

Confused, perturbed, everyone listened to the monstrous accusation without deciding to speak out in defense of Dobychin. A sinister foreboding already hung in the air...

Pale, shaking as in a fever, Leonid Ivanovich sat among these people, whom he did not know and who were furtively casting frightened glances at the unlucky victim. The corners of his mouth dolefully drooped down, he cracked the fingers of his hands, pressed between his knees.

The final speaker was a writer who had earned fame before the revolution but recently, for all to hear, had recognized Soviet power and had returned from the emigration. He took a seat on the stage and then, calmly and condescendingly, proceeded to pronounce judgement on Dobychin. He judged him with a consciousness of his own importance, of his own talent, without trying to hide his feelings of superiority over the small fry who were, obediently, with necks stretched, sitting below him on their chairs. I remember, he said: "Everything begins with Fedin, sitting under a green lamp shade at his writing desk..."

For some reason, he took pleasure in the figure of Fedin, sitting at the desk under the green lamp shade, and he repeated again: "And so, sitting under the green lamp shade, Fedin first heard about a certain Dobychin..."

And with interminable, overwhelming words, as if pronouncing a verdict of guilt, he easily destroyed and crushed Dobychin. Then he politely offered him an opportunity to speak, stood up, and left. And, probably, immediately forgot about him...

And had he even read Dobychin?

Mikhail Slonimskiy, alone, did not hold back. Emotionally, he tried to explain, to show, that accusations of such a kind bore no relationship to Dobychin. That there was no kind of formalism in his work, that Dobychin wrote simply, understandably, clearly expressing his own thoughts and drawing pictures. But Slonimskiy's defense was buried under an avalanche of accusations...

In the hall, there was such a tense and awful quiet that nobody stirred.

Leonid Ivanovich stood up, squeezed his way along the narrow row of chairs, reached the aisle and, without climbing up on the platform, turned to face the audience. In an unclear, shaking, and broken voice he said that he did not understand why he deserved such accusations, that no kind of formalism had ever entered his thoughts, that he always wrote only the best way he could. Unable to say more, he convulsively wrung his hands and, lowering his head, hurried out of the hall.



Not one person stood and ran after him.

Confused, overwhelmed, remorseful about our own smallness of spirit, we left the meeting.

It was a clear, cold April evening. There was a vague fore-sense of the approaching white nights. Nikolay Korneyevich and I did not go home right away. Worked up, we walked for a long time through the empty streets, discussing what had happened. The injustice of the accusations seemed scandalous to us.

At home, we found the children peacefully sleeping in their beds.

And suddenly, I sharply sensed Leonid Ivanovich's inexpressible aloneness.

"You know what? I'll phone him," I exclaimed.

"But it's already one o'clock in the morning! It's late!", said Nikolay Korneyevich.

But I called anyway. Leonid Ivanovich came to the telephone at once. As if he was still up.

"Leonid Ivanovich! Dear Friend! Don't grieve! Everything, as always, will work out! Keep your spirits up and tomorrow, as usual, come over! You will come? Yes?"

"Thanks. I'll come without fail. I'm absolutely alright! Good night!"

And the familiar screech-laugh sounded in the receiver.

But he did not come.

He did not come either the next day, or the one after it.

But, indeed, could this not be accidental?

We called. He turned out not to be at home. My God! But is he really obliged to sit home all the time? It doesn't mean anything that he has gone out!

But he did not show up at any of his friends during these days.

As if sensing that something was wrong, we grew desperately concerned.

And after two days, taking the mail out of the box in the morning, I pulled out an envelope written in a familiar hand.

"Dear Nikolay Korneyevich," wrote Dobychin. "My piece is supposed to be printed in 'Krasnaya Nova'. I have sent instructions there that my honorarium is to be sent to you. Please spend it as follows.

(And then a list of his petty debts.)

And do not look for me --I am setting out for distant regions.

Your L. Dobychin"

We hurried to phone his friends. Nobody knew anything about him...

We reported to the Writers' Union. There, they "took it under advisement" and promised to "make inquiries".

And soon a letter came from his mother in Bryansk.

"Having heard about your friendly relations with my unhappy son, I beg you to let me know what you know about him," she wrote. "I have received a package from him, in which there were various things and his military identification...".

All investigations -- but who was there to carry them out in that unclear, troubled time? -- turned out to be fruitless.

And this is the entire, sad history of the unfortunate Dobychin. He vanished, without return and forever.

And his books? Since that time they have not once been reissued. The few copies that have been preserved are rarities. And we still keep in our album a small photograph of Leonid Ivanovich. His little cap, his sad, inexpressive eyes behind the lenses of his pince-nez, the tragically drooping corners of his mouth...

13032

CSO: 1800/650

PLEA MADE FOR LEAVING UZBEK CULTURAL INSTITUTE IN PLACE

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 5 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by G. Pugachenkova, academician of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences, doctor of art criticism, professor; M. Rakhmanov, corresponding member of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences, doctor of art criticism, professor, winner of the State Prize imeni Khamza; L. Rempel, doctor of art criticism, professor, honored scientific worker of the UzSSR; R. Taktash, doctor of art criticism, honored scientific worker of the UzSSR; A. Umarov, candidate of art criticism, honored culture worker of the UzSSR, et al., total of 106 signatures: "To Send to the Fortress!"; first paragraph PRAVDA VOSTOKA introduction]

[Text] In the old days fortresses had a broad, as it were, spectrum of application. In war people could withstand a siege behind the thick walls. In peace time they were sometimes used to confine both guilty and righteous people, but that was in the olden days. And our institute intends to move into a special building in the former barracks of the old fortress now, today....

Fifteen years ago our collective of the Scientific Research Institute of Art imeni Khamza had a real celebration: the institute (incidentally, in a year it will celebrate its 60th anniversary) received a new building constructed according to a special design taking into account the nature of our work. We were not the only ones who were happy about this circumstance. Throughout its entire history the institute has been and still is the only scientific center of its profile in the Central Asian region which brings leading scholars together: music critics, theater critics, architects and archeologists, painting and folklore researchers...the names of a number of scholars and their works and the discoveries by archeologists of the Uzbek art history expedition have become known throughout the world.

The institute is a large center of scholarship in the areas of the history of architecture and the protection and restoration of monuments of Uzbekistan, other republics of Central Asia, and Kazakhstan. The most important work is being done here for compiling a "collection of monuments" of the artistic culture of Uzbekistan. The majority of workers in the institute are active members of creative unions. Almost every one of us is engaged in publicity for art and culture in the labor collective.

Since 1978 a regional specialized council has been functioning in the institute for defending candidates' dissertation. It considers works submitted from the republics of the country and also foreign researchers. Moreover, by a decree of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, a coordination center for work with creative youth has been established on the basis of our institute.

The unique center for studying all kinds of art which our institute is has a broad range of international ties. Specialists from Uzbekistan regularly carry out assignments under the UNESCO program, they participate in expeditions of the Soviet UNESCO group, and they maintain contacts with colleagues from many countries.

And what rare exhibits of ancient art have been gathered in our museum! They have been written about in the press of the United States, the FRG, Japan, France, Spain, and Italy by eminent scholars from these countries. And participants in the Soviet-French Symposium of 1986 on Questions of Eastern culture agreed on one idea: the museum's collection could adorn the best foreign museums--it is recognized as the best collection of Central Asian antiquities.

In the end the advantage from the work of our institute is measured not only by spiritual values--they are more difficult to weigh, measure and feel. Fifteen years ago, one of the detachments of the institute's archeological exhibition discovered a golden treasure of antiquity weighing 36 kilograms. This discovery will pay for the institute's activity for many years in the future, even in the eyes of, say, a businessman who is incapable of seeing nothing else in this discovery.

But we are not discussing our institute and its collective research and discoveries in such detail for the sake of advertising. The institute is now threatened with being moved to the completely unsuitable premises of the military barracks of a fortress that was constructed before the revolution. It turns out that the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Uzbekistan needed our building. The old fortress, because of its decrepit condition, could not protect the unique monuments of musical and artistic culture of Central Asia from the onslaught of time. The promised reconstruction will hardly make it possible to adapt it to the institute's needs.

In recent years the party and government have taken a number of significant measures for strengthening the material and technical base for culture. Why does our republic does not understand the importance of these measures? Why are they getting ready to give such a "gift" to the institute for its 60th birthday?

#### We Support the Scholars

Moving the Institute imeni Khamza from its own building into premises that are absolutely not adapted for artistic, scientific or museum work is an act which can have an extremely destructive effect on all cultural activity in the republic. The leadership of the creative unions of Uzbekistan support these scholars and fully shares their indignation.



We asked the editorial staff of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA to intervene and prevent this unreasonable and short-sighted act which is not in keeping with the party policy regarding questions of cultural construction in the modern stage.

D. Umarbekov, chairman of the Union of Artists of Uzbekistan; A. Kabulov, chairman of the Union of Cinematographers of Uzbekistan; M. Tadzhiyev, chairman of the Union of Composers of Uzbekistan; M. Kayumov, People's Artist of the USSR, winner of the State Prize, movie director; Dzh. Feshabayev, secretary of the Union of Cinematographers of Uzbekistan, doctor of art criticism.

#### From the Editorial Staff

Having contacted our own correspondent in the Uzbek SSR, we became confused. It turns out that on Polshched imeni Lenin in Tashkent there are three identical buildings: the Scientific Research Institute of Art imeni Khamza, the republic sports committee and...the Central Committee of the Republic Komsomol, which is now attempting to significantly expand its management premises. Why? After all, the Komsomol's immediate task is to visit the local areas and labor collectives more frequently and not to multiply the number of offices and other "work places."

And in principle it is not clear what point there is in moving, even from a purely economic standpoint. In order to move the institute from place to place, it is necessary to create and equip chemical and photographic laboratories, sound laboratories with a special system of sound insulation, storage facilities with certain temperature conditions for unique tape recordings of folkloric musical expeditions gathered over more than 40 years, halls for conducting exhibitions, the artistic restoration shop, the museum and many, many other things. Moreover, the Scientific Research Institute imeni Khamza has many frescoes and carvings done by famous national masters. It would be practically impossible to move these works without damaging them. All this is discussed in the letter to the editorial staff from workers of the Uzbek Scientific Research Institute of Urban Construction, who also share the viewpoint of the scholars: "It would be inexpedient and unjustified to move the institute" (24 workers signed this appeal).

Such arbitrary treatment of cultural centers in Uzbekistan, alas, is nothing new. Quite recently, when looking for a location for the UzSSR Theater Society, management agencies of the republic were unable to find any better solution than...moving the center for national masters. These craftsmen had their own special furnaces for firing ceramics, shops, technological equipment, storehouses for prepared products, and an art salon. Now 150 masters along with home workers have been squeezed into the first floor of a residential building whose former residents were not at all happy about the appearance of the newcomers. The ovens give off smoke and soot, the engraving machines make noise, disturbing the peace of the residents, and the masters themselves have literally nowhere to turn. The items have dropped in quality and the demand for them has dropped sharply. Masters from various corners of Central Asia who used to come here to study the experience in restoring traditional crafts no longer gather here. The national craftsmen have gone to

many levels of management in Uzbekistan, but the effect from this has been zero.

As it was, incidentally, with the appeals from scholars of the Scientific Research Institute of Art imeni Khamza, who wrote both to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan and the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers.

In our view, there cannot be more than one opinion: a unique scientific center for the study and development of the culture of Central Asia such as the Scientific Institute of Art imeni Khamza should be given the opportunity to work in peace, without anxiety, under conditions that are suitable for this. Therefore we are waiting to see what leading party and Soviet agencies of Uzbekistan have to say about this.

11772

CSO: 1830/527

## MOSCOW HOLDS FIRST ART AUCTION

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 27, 12-19 Jul 87 p 14

[Article by Nadezhda Nazarevskaya]

[Text]

THE FIRST auction of paintings by young Moscow artists has taken place in the former Golovin mansion on Karl Marx Street. It was preceded by an exhibition which opened on June 19, not long before the auction. It was open to all. Art scholars answered visitors' numerous questions.

"We regard the auction as a good opportunity to publicize fine arts and as a form of providing material support to young artists," said Georg Myasnikov, first vice-chairman of the Soviet Culture Fund Board. "However, the auction will also expand our own financial basis - 15 per cent of the price at which each painting is sold goes to the Fund. From recent exhibitions, Muscovites are already acquainted with works by many of the artists taking part in the auction. Some artists, however, made their debut at the auction. The Art Council, composed of representatives of the Culture Fund, the State Tretyakov Gallery, the Pushkin Museum of

Fine Arts and the USSR Artists Union, selected 111 out of 350 works painted by 47 artists."

Denis Gordeyev, a third-year student, exhibited his works for the first time, and the public is already well acquainted with the works by Maxim Kantor and Vladimir Brainin. Both Soviet and foreign critics have written a lot already about Kantor. The USSR Ministry of Culture had purchased his painting displayed at the "Youth of the Country" Exhibition, devoted to the Chernobyl events. Nikolai Shurygin is also quite well known - he won the Spectators' Popularity Prize at the 17th Exhibition of Young Artists. Ivan Lubenikov, who has already taken part in dozens of exhibitions both at home and abroad, submitted the greatest number of works for the exhibition-auction.

All the submitted works were numbered and underwent preliminary evaluation. After visiting the exhibition a person could lay a claim to a picture and buy a ticket

to the auction for 15 roubles (the money was included in the price of the picture to be bought). The potential buyer got a catalogue together with the ticket. The number of buyers had to be limited beforehand - only 120 people on the first day and the same number on the second. The Golovin mansion could only accommodate that many people.

Were all the works sold? Of course not! As we know from world statistics - if 30 per cent of works at an auction are sold then it is a success. The first Moscow auction exceeded this figure.

It is planned that four more such auctions will be held this year.

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CSO: 1812/0244

RSFSR EDUCATION MINISTER ON SCHOOL REFORM, OTHER ISSUES

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Jun 87 p 2

[Report by RSFSR Minister of Education G. P. Veselov: "For High Quality Teaching and Education"]

[Text] A general education school is not an isolated institution in a socialist state. It is tied by many threads to the life of Soviet society. And it is quite natural that certain negative phenomena that took place in the development of our country at the juncture of the 70's and 80's impacted negatively on the activity of educational institutions and national education agencies. It is precisely in these years that a rigid centralization in the management and regulation of the operation of teaching establishments took place, that a state of complacency was reached in the teaching and training process, that a long-lasting stability of educational content set in, and that the volume of construction of educational facilities was decreased.

At the same time, the RSFSR Ministry of Education, national educational agencies and pedagogical collectives did not utilize the emerging great capabilities for better teaching and training of students in proper measure. We were not able to combine thoroughly the efforts of schools, cultural establishments, physical culture and sport, television and radio, the press, science, trade union and komsomol organizations, creative artist associations, labor collectives and families. There are still a number of pedagogical collectives that believe that it is the school alone that performs the teaching and training of youth. Pedagogical science also has not brought to light all of the processes occurring in the educational system in a timely way. As a result, many of the educational institutions were on the brink of stagnation and backwardness.

The next all-Russian congress, adhering to Leninist principles and with self-criticism, and in the spirit of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the January plenum (1987) of the CPSU Central Committee, should analyze the activity of all elements of the educational system in realizing school reforms and disclose the reasons: why is reform still slipping today? This serious criticism, expressed at the 20th VLKSM Congress by M. S. Gorbachev, obligates the delegates to approach the evaluation of our work even more strictly.



The January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee (1987) imparted a new dynamism to the activity of many pedagogical collectives and educational institutions. Everywhere the structure of high schools is being improved; work is being carried out more thoroughly on increasing the quality of general education, work and professional training of students and on ensuring the unity of teaching and training; and changes for the better are taking place in the forms and methods of the teaching and training process, in work with the cadres and in the strengthening of the material base of the institutions of the educational system. The current academic year has become a year of the birth of a new 4-year elementary school. It marked the beginning of development of the 10-year school into an 11-year school. The first year of work with 6-year old children showed that an absolute majority of the teachers with the help of games and through games are making education joyful and absorbing and not burdensome for the pupils. At the same time, the process of work with 6-year olds disclosed quite a few problems that are deterring the qualitative organization of teaching children of this age. Part of the teachers displayed unnecessary haste in teaching students reading, writing and mathematics. Some schools were unable to give proper attention to strict adherence to a schedule of studies and rest.

In the 3-year elementary school, teachers are turning to an increase in the quality of teaching and training of students through improved programs and textbooks. In the middle and senior grades, many teachers have assimilated the objectives of the new programs and are displaying quite a lot of creativity in their work. Every fifth teacher has announced that their classes, lectures and seminar studies are open. The study of teaching in the Irkutsk, Kostroma, Kirov and Tyumen oblasts, and in the Bashkir, Buryat, Tatar, North Ossetian and Mordovian ASSR's, shows that specific qualitative changes are taking place in teaching Russian and native languages in a number of schools.

There has been an intensification in a majority of schools in the practical, polytechnical and applied orientation of teaching physics, chemistry and biology. For these purposes, there is better utilization of training rooms and computer equipment as teaching means, and tasks of a productive nature are being included in the training process. The introduction of the course "Fundamentals of Informatics and Computers" is being warmly received by students.

Meanwhile, successes in raising the level of teaching, the quality of knowledge of the students and their training are extremely insignificant at the present time. Not infrequently there are cases in the process of teaching where teachers do not pay sufficient attention to moral education, where they do not consistently work on the development of the individual features of students, where they do not offer students the opportunity to work independently on lessons to the necessary extent, and where they do not develop student abilities into firm skills. . . . In a number of schools children read little, even though a large library selection is available. All of this impoverishes the spiritual world of the children and constrains their education in subsequent grades.

Scholars propose a broader inculcation of specialized teaching of subjects in elementary grades not only in the esthetic field but also in mathematics and the Russian language, beginning in the second or third year of education. It seems to us that such an experiment could be undertaken, and that afterwards an appropriate decision could be made.

There is much that has to be changed in the activity of the 8th-year and 9th-year school. It is still weak in accomplishing the task of providing all students with a sound scientific base to obtain a general secondary and professional education. Speaking of understaffing of the village school, the reporting official emphasized that many difficulties and shortcomings have arisen here especially. Multi-subject teaching is reflected in the quality of student knowledge. Pupils of many village schools continue to lag in a number of subjects in general educational training in comparison with city students.

The reporting official further analyzed the quality of teaching in basic school disciplines.

It should be acknowledged that up to the present time pedantry and stereotyped forms and methods of teaching and calculating knowledge have not been eradicated in the 9th and 10th grades. Frequently we stifle a pupil's thinking, and we do not develop it. By way of consideration, we propose that everywhere in the forthcoming year interrogations not be conducted in classes at the level of schools in the 9th and 10th grades during the academic year, but that the freed time be used for student study of pressing scientific and practical problems. At the same time, we propose to give teachers wide range in conducting lectures, seminar studies, public debates and consultations. Based on the results of studies for 6 months, tests will be given and checks will be made on subjects being studied.

The speaker said further that definite positive changes are occurring in the work training of the students. The executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies have registered more than 50,000 basic enterprises at general education schools. During the years of the reform, 686,500 student work positions have been equipped and modernized. The number of UPK [industrial training centers] and training shops and sections has grown. Moreover, for the purposes of work and professional education, schools are utilizing the material and technical base of 1,035 professional and technical specialized schools. The creation of student brigades and teams in 10-year and 8-year village schools has been completed. In this academic year, 99 percent of the students of the 9th and 10th grades of city and village schools are being trained in 300 mass professions.

Socially useful and productive work has been introduced essentially in all schools, starting with the 1986-87 academic year. School production associations have been created in Kemerovo Oblast on the initiative of enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Coal Industry. This association includes two training and production combines, 30 schools, the Pioneer Club and 30 basic enterprises. The production work and professional training of the students is being implemented according to a single plan. Here senior pupils solve economic, technical and technological questions and manage school production; the young people manufacture 129 kinds of articles. Just in the

last year they produced products in the sum of 380,000 rubles. Other school student production associations are also achieving high results. On the whole, according to information from localities, in 1986 students produced products in the sum of 700 million rubles, and in 1984, 528 million rubles. Of course, it is not just a matter of the volume of produced products, but the fact that pupils are actually getting accustomed to the labor of workers and collective farmers.

At the same time there are still quite a few serious blunders and defects in work education operations, which was pointed out by the Presidium of the RSFSR Council of Ministers in April of this year at the time of the report of the Ministry of Education. The main one is that a precise system of training, work and professional education has not been worked up everywhere.

In this connection, the NII of schools, national education associations and the Ministry of Education must aggressively conduct work to improve programs and create systems of work training. It is absolutely essential to conduct work education consistently by means of all training subjects in the process of organizing socially useful and productive work.

We are faced with a lot of work in the creation of a good training and material foundation. We all know that many UPK's, training shops and sections and school workshops have old equipment on which it is hardly possible to train for work in a given profile at a level of current requirements. Unfortunately, some national education agencies resign themselves to such a situation. Moreover, not all basic enterprises joined in aggressively to create student work positions. It is sufficient to say that by 1 January 1987, 12,200 basic enterprises, or 24.3 percent of the total number, did not set up even one student work position. There is a lag in the establishment of student work positions in the Archangel, Irkutsk, Magadan and Kaliningrad oblasts and in the Mordovian ASSR. Laggardness in the creation of a training and material base cannot be permitted. For the remaining years of the 5-year plan, we must carry out a technical reequipping of school workshops and, where this is possible, establish school plants on their foundation. Measures must be taken to broaden the profile of the work training of students in construction work and metal processing. The professionally oriented experimental centers set up in 17 cities have not yet been activated.

One of the main tasks of reform is to fight against eyewash and the percentage mania. Criteria for evaluating student knowledge and training have been developed for this purpose. Positive changes have been noted in a number of pedagogical collectives of schools. Nothing can be more vicious and immoral than an undeservedly given positive mark. Therefore, it is quite realistic that the number of those held back for a second year grew in the period of the reform. However, a number of places continue to evaluate the work results of teachers in the old way.

Administrators of national education agencies, schools, teachers and educators must not lessen their attention in the fight against eyewash and the



percentage mania. We believe that students of the 9th and 10th grades who do not wish to study must be aggressively directed to work through the commission on juvenile affairs and that a recommendation be made to these young people to study in evening and correspondence educational institutions.

The development of a general education school under modern conditions cannot be accomplished successfully without mass creativity in the work of teachers and educators. The Ministry of Education, national education agencies and the methodological services contributed in every way possible so that the work experience of progressive teachers was supported by the pedagogical collectives. Measures have been undertaken to spread innovative ideas in teaching and educating pupils. The teachers of the Russian Federation are familiar with the pedagogical activity of Valentina Timofeyevna Byazyrova, Igor Pavlovich Volkov, Vladimir Fedorovich Vinogradov, Tatyana Ivanovna Goncharova, Yevgeniy Nikolayevich Ilyin. Sofiya Nikolayevna Lysenkova, Lyudmila Vasilevna Makhova, Nadezhda Nikolayevna Zakharova, Zoya Alekseyevna Subbotina, Viktor Fedorovich Shatalov, Roman Grigorevich Khazankin and many other progressive pedagogues of our time.

All of these pedagogues are distinguished by an analytical and constructive view on the resolution of problems of education and training under the new conditions of activity of schools. Even if there is something in their work that we do not like, the presence of just elements and particles of progressive experience and innovation enables every worker in education to take what is useful for his own practical work.

Pedagogical collectives of educational institutions, the reporting official continued, conducted a restructuring of out of class and extracurricular educational work with students. But fundamental changes did not take place. The work in many schools and institutions is set up formalistically and in a stereotyped way. Endless tutelage interferes with the all-round development of the students. There are more than enough examples.

It should be taken as a rule that the Komsomol primary organizer of any school should be a member of the pedagogical council. All pupils must be decisively drawn into discussions of the internal life of the school. Only under this condition can unity of the activity of teacher and pupil collectives be assured. And the role of the class teacher and the administration of the school must be pedagogical.

There is a wide network of out-of-school establishments in the republic, but a significant portion has not yet crossed the school threshold. Pedagogical collectives should arrange their work in such a way that each school becomes a center of active educational work with the students in the micro-region. Under these conditions, we will be able to resist actively infringements of public law and order, cases of drunkenness, drug addiction and toxicomania among students.

It is impossible to remain silent as well about the question of the teacher-pupil relationship. A respectful attitude towards a child and a pupil collective on the part of teachers and educators is a primary principle of the activity of Soviet educational institutions.



The implementation of reforms in general education and professional schools required an increase in the training of pedagogical cadres. At the present time it has been decided to broaden the enrollment in pedagogical institutes and pedagogical colleges for a period up to the year 1995, which essentially will enable meeting the educational requirements for specialists in higher and secondary education. However, checks have shown that professor and teacher staffs of pedagogical institutes and pedagogical collectives are not working with the needed intensity to improve the quality of teacher and educator training, taking current conditions into account. A significant portion of graduates are poorly trained in methodological respects and is not able to conduct educational work with students. It is to these specific shortcomings that the Ministry of Education directed the attention of the Vladimir, Chita and other pedagogical institutes.

The modern pedagogical institute should become a genuine school not only of education, but also of self-education. It cannot be said at present that pedagogical scholastic forces are actively assisting educational institutions and the national economy. Many doctors and candidates of science do not engage in working out actual problems in the social and natural sciences, pedagogics and psychology. Not very many scholars participate in writing training programs, textbooks and methodic aids and in generalizing progressive experience and innovation in pedagogical activity. The USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences is withdrawing from problems of the multinational school of the Russian federation. The number of actual scholastic subjects which are being worked up for the needs of the school of Russia have decreased many times. We earnestly request the presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences to review the question of creating an all-Russian department of the USSR APN [Academy of Pedagogical Sciences] on the basis of existing scientific research institutes of the RSFSR Ministry of Education.

The January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee required that work with cadres be improved. The ministry heightened its attention to such problems, and work is going on everywhere on the training of a reserve for advancement. The practice of considering nominations for the post of school director and pedagogical institute rector and other administrators is becoming more and more widespread. However, frequently haste is displayed both in the selection and in the replacement of administrators of national education agencies and school directors. For example, the replacement of school administrators in the North Ossetian ASSR and the Kamchatka and Leningrad oblasts is up to 20 percent a year.

Replacement of the teacher staff in the course of 2 years does not exceed 3.5 percent. It decreased substantially in comparison with 1984. Nonetheless, there are quite a few persons among the teachers and educators who have a careless attitude in the performance of their duties. Certification practices have become overly formalized. A proposal was submitted at some teacher conferences and congresses that would permit certification in pedagogical collectives and that only when there was a conflict on one or another nomination would a dispute be reviewed in rayon and city commissions of national education sections. It seems that this proposal deserves to be looked at.

The Ministry of Education is steadily improving the style and practice of pedagogical organization work. Primary attention is being given to providing practical assistance in realizing the reform of general education and professional schools and in disseminating progressive pedagogical experience and innovation. Measures have been instituted to reduce the flood of paper, especially instructions. Standards documents published previously by the Ministry of Education have been reviewed. A restructuring is taking place in the activity of many of the ministries of education of ASSR, kray and oblast sections of national education.

However, all that has been said does not quite speak of the fact that the RSFSR Ministry of Education has completely restructured its practical activity, as our times require. We were not able fully to correct our work in the spirit of the 27th CPSU Congress and the January plenum of the party's Central Committee. Some supervisory workers in the apparatus of the ministry are not setting an example in organizational activity, are reacting oversensitively to criticism and cannot at all get rid of their didactic and authoritarian tone of management. Responsibility for the indicated serious shortcomings in the fact that reform is still lagging rests, first and foremost, with Minister of Education G. P. Veselov, First Deputy Minister I. M. Kosonozhkin and Deputy Ministers D. M. Zabrodin, Z. G. Novozhilova, V. M. Kasyanov, L. K. Balyasnaya and G. D. Kuznetsov. It should be said that other members of the collegium could also do significantly more to implement the reform. We must change the work of the national education agencies on the spot as well. This element must decide questions of management of national education sections, the training of cadres, increasing qualifications and strengthening and improving the material base.

Pedagogical collectives of educational institutions have reviewed a draft of a new regulation for general education schools at teacher conferences and congresses in rayons and cities, oblasts, krays and autonomous republics of the Russian Federation. Unfortunately, many speakers noted that the new draft regulation retains strict centralization, which does not correspond to the spirit of reform and which does not stimulate its development. It was also noted that some of the provisions of the regulation are cumbersome, and that attempts are made in them to reflect as many tasks and goals as possible. It is likely, taking into account the necessity for the broad development of a creative teacher and educator, that an increase in their methodological skills need not be regulated in every detail. Much in the regulation refers to instruction about examinations. The criticism of the draft regulation seems to be correct to the effect that it does not open up democratization in the activity of schools for teachers and especially for students and children's public organizations. The draft regulation did not mention new approaches to the broadening of the rights of school administrators and making it possible for a teacher collective to elect directors and other school administrators. A number of provisions could be included in the draft that more clearly regulate the interrelationships of schools with different organizations, eliminating interference in their activity by incompetent agencies. The idea that the proposed regulation of general education schools be approved as a model, giving the right to republic ministries to make changes in it and to supplement it, deserves consideration.

Our country, said the speaker in conclusion, is resolving tasks which were heretofore unheard of from the standpoint of newness and scale. Permit me on behalf of our congress to announce that the teachers of Russia will be in the front ranks in implementing restructuring, and they will do everything to educate people who support the cause and the political fighters who are dedicated to communist ideals and who are able to defend and augment great social, moral and cultural values.

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CSO: 1800/694

# ALMA-ATA RIOTS POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR TALKS ON ETHNIC RELATIONS

Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh 23 May 87 p 1

["Roundtable" discussion entitled "Educating in the Culture of Internationality Relationships--A Fundamental Duty." Participating in the discussions, chaired by K. Duyseyev, editor of SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN, were V.A. Awman, deputy chief of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, chief of the Sector for Nationality Relations; A.T. Qaydarov, academician of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences, director of the Academy's Linguistic Institute; L.V. Kochetova, textile worker of the Alma-Ata Cotton-Fabric Combine; S.Q. Nukenov, secretary of the Alma-Ata Heavy Machinery Construction Factory Party Committee; M.Q. Qozybayev, corresponding member of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences, division chief of the Academy's History, Archaeology and Ethnography Institute; D.K. Kishibekov, chief of the Chair in Marxist-Leninist Philosophy of the V.I. Lenin Kazakh Polytechnical Institute; Professor M.M. Suzhikov, doctor of philosophical science, division chief of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences Philosophy and Law Institute; and V.V. Chesnokov, secretary of the S.M. Kirov Kazakh State University Party Committee]

## [Excerpts] 1. The Meaning and Importance of the Question

Chair: Since the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan CP, work to strengthen the friendship of the peoples and provide an internationalist education has been somewhat revitalized. However, judging from the content of letters [to SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN] which have arrived from various places in Kazakhstan, this work is not being carried out at the proper level everywhere and does not correspond to the needs of the times. In addition, the following problem has emerged: party and economic organizations do not all uniformly understand the subtleties of internationalist education and do not fully understand their duty to educate in the culture of internationality relationships. For this reason it is proper that our present discussion answer questions of this sort being contemplated by our readers, and set forth the ways and methods for internationalist education. Accordingly, we will first of all make clear the meaning of educating in the culture of interethnic relationships and then discuss goals in this area.

M. Suzhikov: The conception is a very broad one and embraces a number of aspects. First of all, we must evaluate national and interethnic processes from the point of view of Marxist-Leninist science and gain a knowledge of the



foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory as it relates to this question. Secondly, the culture of interethnic relationships requires formation of internationalist sensitivities at a high level. Thereby, goals originating at a middle or lower level are raised to a higher level. Also, the essential question here, knowledge of internationalism via Marxist-Leninist science, turns into action after passing through the filter of the intellects and feelings of specific individuals.

S. Nukenov: You say that there are various levels to internationalist education. What was the level in this area 15-20 years ago? Has the level not declined recently?

M. Suzhikov: A clear statement was made about this at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum. There have been deficiencies in internationalist education in recent years, or, more accurately, it has come to a halt altogether. The associated problems have not been specified, have not been investigated. What investigation has taken place has been unable to get far. But the needs of the times have increased: the problem has been specifically stated in a vital form. It requires a specific solution. But while there are accomplishments in life, failures exist as well.

S. Nukenov: I will not argue with what you said before. The reason is that we have had to work with persons who participated in the incidents of this December or who expressed support for them. After we have talked with them, I say that we are going to write letters to their parents. They then become so reproachful and circumspect.

Chair: In this area the parents have taken a proper position, but the children with their inappropriate behavior know that they have offended the honored sensitivities of their parents.

S. Nukenov: Indeed, all of this must show that the worldview of the parents is superior to that of the children. The reason is that the parents passed through a school of tempering experience during the era of the first years of consolidation of the Soviet regime, and first 5-year plans, and the difficulty of the war years.

M. Qozybayev: We must deal with one question directly. Did we hitherto conceive that, under conditions of socialism, there could be expressions of nationalism? Unfortunately, it turns out that there has been no theoretical discussion of this theme on a national basis. If we go deeply into the question we must look for the first causes from within it. During the last 20-30 years there have been many unprecedented advances in our practical achievements, in the sectors of literature and art. But our historians, literary figures, and journalists have been unable to propagandize the heroic history of a nation, of our party sufficiently. Ignorance of party history and party tradition could be one cause for wavering from the Leninist nationality policy not only among youth groups but, among them, of representatives of a slightly older generation.

D. Kishibekov: If we must deal with the question directly, then I think the problem is whether there is nationalism among the Kazakh people or not. More

specifically, if the Kazakh people as a whole was never nationalistic then they are not now. We must express our points of view clearly on this issue. The reason is that the lazy and those wishing ill of Soviet reality endeavor to distort unanswered questions. Western ideologues, seeing the first successful results of reconstruction in our nation, have gone over to a campaign of slandering this achievement. In particular, these ideologues are irritated by achievements of the economic and social advance of Kazakhstan and Central Asian republics and, being unable to achieve any [of their goals], they seek to understand it as due to rapid demographic growth, the appearance and renewal of nationalism. The December incidents poured oil on the fires of their slander.

What I am attempting to say is that this is not just a matter of showing our bourgeoisie detractors the benefits of our way of life. It is a matter of opening their eyes and eyes of ourselves, with our tendency to overdo things, to the truth behind the words of some persons full of hot air. Secondly, the Kazakh people emerged as a people under conditions of socialism. But socialism does not by nature give birth to nationalism. There was a nationalist ideology in Kazakhstan on the eve of the revolution. However, the masses of the people rejected the ideology of the Alashorda [bourgeoisie nationalist] regime. In mentioning this we must not ignore this question in our own education work. Patriarchal residues and manifestations of nationalism have risen today among various persons. Such dangerous persons, those greedy and voracious ones thrust aside by the wave of reconstruction, and reactionaries have incited various groups of young students and workers, inexperienced in the political area, to adventuristic actions.

V. Awman: You yourself made the comparison of present nationalism with that of the Alashorda movement. Recent times have witnessed, on the part of some, an effort to whitewash the Alashorda movement. In some works there has been a tendency to play up the movement. There are those who attempt to justify the representatives of an alien ideology.

D. Kishibekov: These can be errors and deficiencies in the idealistic education, philosophical thought processes, and methodological conceptions of the historians and writers you are asking about. However, I would not go so far as to say that they are out and out nationalists eager to turn back the historical direction of socialism.

M. Qozybayev: Since the reigning ideology in our nation is Marxism-Leninism, there is no doubt whatever that socialistic internationalism will achieve a total victory. The discussion is only about some aberrations here. This was discussed at the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The goal is to prevent isolated occurrences from becoming a generalized phenomenon. However, there is no need here to prove that there have in fact been expressions of nationalism.

V. Awman: If we look at the question from the standpoint of Professor Zushikov's internationalist education we can formulate it in the following terms: no one has ever doubted the internationalistic qualities of the Kazakh people. There is no need to prove this. Our goal is to raise educational levels in this area. However, I want to take issue with one idea of Professor

Kishibekov. When we discuss the internationalism of the Kazakh people, and take as the beginning of our discussion their failure to get past one level of development, I cannot agree in calling this the reason for the internationalist character of that people.

Our deficiencies in ideological work, our failure to carry out analyses on questions of internationalism, and our one-sidedness in many measures, in an evolved form, were the cause of the December incidents. As you will remember, a great deal of emphasis was placed on internationalist education until the war. Based upon it, the party was able to mobilize all peoples and nationalities of our nation in the struggle against the fascist plague. M.S. Gorbachev pointed out in his speech to the 20th Congress of the All-Union Leninist Komsomol: "A person is not born an internationalist or a nationalist. What he becomes in his life depends upon himself, upon his education, and upon society. Each new generation of Soviet citizens has the obligation to become new possessors of internationalist sympathies in the area of internationality relationships, in collective study and labor." What this in fact means is that if the father is an internationalist, we have no reason whatever to consider the son an internationalist. We must educate him to be one.

The following conclusion was clearly expressed at a scientific political conference recently devoted to this question: "The trick in providing internationalist education is to make people kindred, to bring them close together based on Marxist-Leninist nationalities policy." In only a very short period of time much has been accomplished, and what has been accomplished has been fully adequate to put the lie to the views of Western ideologues urging that "nationalism is on the rise in Kazakhstan." We are drawing scientific conclusions about the causes of the incident which has taken place. And proposals have been prepared accordingly. Among them there has been discussion of improvement of the study and teaching of the Kazakh and Russian languages in the republic.

M. Qozybayev: To my way of thinking we must unify the energies of scientists researching interethnic relations at institutions of higher learning and in academy institutes. It is possible that this unity of effort could develop into a scientific research institute, into an institute for internationality relations.

V. Chesnokov: For some time student interest in studying the social sciences has been declining. The problem is not just a connection with the level at which themes of interethnic relationships are being investigated but, at the same time, with the degree to which the materials of the pedagogues are made attractive and understandable.

M. Suzhikov: Each era has a specific quality to its nationalism. For example, if we discuss the problem of nationalism and chauvinism before the revolution, its existence is connected with the presence of various antagonistic groups and parties. Indeed, under such circumstances nationalism emerged as the ideology of a certain definite group. However, today, in an era in which socialism has completely triumphed, in an era when socialism is being refined, the nationality problem is another issue entirely. In these

terms it is seen as something preventing the proper understanding of interethnic problems. In order to correct this deficiency under conditions obtaining in our republic, we need to overcome all aberrant manifestations revealed by this year's struggle. Building large amounts of housing, and solving social questions such as improving the supply of foodstuffs, will have an influence upon refining relationships between representatives of different nationalities, and bringing into being the proper moral and psychological atmosphere.

L. Kochetova: This is something of extreme importance. However, we must not think that solving social questions will improve interethnic relations. The most important thing is understanding between people. We must raise the culture of the relationships of all of the people. What we need to do is teach the Leninist example, or, as our leader said in his own words, "know how to become internationalist in practice."

## 2. The Pace of Education in the Hands of Collectives

Chair: The education of the total person is formed by all the existences of our life. If we take them in order, the person is formed by family, school, higher education institution, labor collective. Each of them plays an important role in the internationalist education of the individual. Through them we can approach what the culture of interethnic relationships is like among grammar school students, secondary school students, and young workers, and what changes it is undergoing. What, in this regard, do you think about the role of regular labor collectives and study groups?

L. Kochetova: I have lots of friends. We sometimes visit one another in our homes and I do not discriminate Kazakhs and Russians. However, some manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism have appeared in our way of life. I did not worry about them much. If we look closely, they are an illusion. If we remember how this leaves behind an impression on peoples' minds, we come face to face with the difficulty involved for us in educating in the culture of internationality relationships.

S. Nukenov: Let me give an example of internationalism from my own life. My parents were workers, we had a neighbor named Grisha Aghay [uncle]. My mother offered the milk she had fermented [ayran] to that person first. There was no fence between the two houses. The dog of Grisha Aghay guarded both farmsteads together. Grisha Aghay only had daughters. For this reason, I grew up as the common son of both families.

L. Kochetova: The intention of a mother in offering milk was an honorable one. All good things came from the mother, it is said. Thus our training in internationalism and the sowing of its first seeds are the work of parents. At the same time this matter demands the talent, competence, and skill of school teachers. However, there are many deficiencies among our teachers.

V. Chesnokov: These deficiencies are due to the university training the teachers. There is much criticism to be offered to institutions of higher learning and the pedagogues within them. If, in addition to former deficiencies, we also add our discussion of present ones, we must say that the



process of reconstruction is fraught with difficulties in these universities. For example, the average age of the pedagogues of our departments of social sciences is 62. To be sure, it is well known that under such conditions the motivation to reconstruct, to introduce innovations and striving, will be insufficient. For this reason we must change the structure of pedagogical collectives and bring into close contact experience and youthful powers.

Chair: What are the deficiencies you are talking about in the internationalist education of young students by party and Komsomol organizations, deans, and chairs of universities?

V. Chesnokov: These deficiencies are above all the result of errors made in the selection and placement of cadres. This is because placement of cadres in the last 10 years has been through connections or relationships. All of this, in fact, has its own icy impact upon the attitude of the students toward work. Secondly, enrollment of students is based upon the same principle. The lax general order, students going to school upon the basis of a violation of social justice to a certain degree and efforts of instructors to cow students into becoming their clients, all of these things taken together have caused some groups of Kazakh young people to lose hope. As a result of this, they have become "material easily influenced" and become twisted around the fingers of those who oppose reconstruction.

D. Kishibekov: When we speak of young people in school, we are talking about a major social grouping. For this reason we must remember the peculiarities of groups and the needs of the times in educational work to be carried out with them. As the university party organ stated only recently, if future educators are themselves the result of social inequality, we must remember that the negative impact of this will be increased many times in the future. Comrades Suzhikov and Kochetova have spoken about this in what they have said. However, as we view the question, allowing injustice leads to the birth of future deficiencies, among them deficiencies in ethnic relationships. For this reason a great deal of care is being taken in enrolling students this year.

V. Awman: Before we discuss internationalist education for students we must first specify who is to be a student. Presently there is an undeniable stream of many words on higher education admissions. Percentage quotas as such are to be prohibited. The reason is that in any case the matter has been overdone: we have heard that there are too many Kazakh young people at school. Does this mean that Kazakhs are bad students? Certainly not. What we are talking about is that these students are going to universities and institutes not in accordance with general rules binding upon all but through connections. This is what is unacceptable. The main policy now being developed is school entrance through work collectives. To this end, the candidacy of the future student will be discussed in a meeting of workers and a guarantee from a party organization will be given to him. In this manner the student will go to the educational institution with great responsibility, after passing through a needed selection process.

M. Qozybayev: It is very proper that students should be chosen from among the workers. This is because socialist internationalism is above all something

found within the working class. At the same time, young people, when they have been received among the ranks of the workers, should take advantage of previous experience.

S. Nukenov: Such traditions of the elder generation should be widely propagandized among young workers.

L. Kochetova: Young people are not just ignorant of the histories of their own enterprises, but some youth have no idea of what front their fathers fought on during the period of the Great Patriotic War. We are all responsible for the education of young people and for this reason one side of the problem must be assigned to us.

Our collective is multiethnic and we generally think that we work together harmoniously. In many cases we have connected our very achievements with our internationalist qualities. The December incident, however, turned up guilty parties in our collective. Several of our girls took part in the unfortunate occurrences. Now they are looked upon with a certain amount of coolness among the workers. This must be due to lags in the work of internationalist education in our multiethnic collective. Being multiethnic alone cannot solve the problem. Purposeful work is necessary to this end.

S. Nukenov: Four persons in our plant's kitchen utensils unit refused to work during those December days. We have been carrying out educational measures actively in the collective. The unit is now growing before our eyes. Young men are even making special bedding for factory families with many children during their free time.

V. Awman: To be sure, it cannot be said that there was no internationalist education work in the republic up until this time. It was carried out but had many deficiencies.

M. Qozybayev: I want to mention one other issue. We have been talking recently a great deal about educating in the culture of internationality relationships. This is, to be sure, proper. But this cannot be separated from the whole question of internationalist education. It must be understood as a component of work being carried out in this area, as an important branch of it.

### 3. Two Languages--Two Wings of Friendship

Chair: More than 2 and 1/2 months have passed since the enactment of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee and KaSSr Council of Ministers Resolutions on Improving Teaching and Instruction of the Kazakh and Russian Languages in the republic. During this time measures not undertaken for many years have begun to be undertaken. These two documents are performing good service in the area of educating in the culture of internationality relationships. In spite of this, a number of deficiencies have been observed in the way in which study and instruction in Russian--the language of friendship of the peoples and of interethnic connections--and likewise of the Kazakh language is organized. What are the causes of these deficiencies and what must be done to resolve the problem at the proper level?

A. Qaydarov: Based upon those two resolutions, approaches to language will be on a Leninist basis. The wonderful development of the Russian language as a means of interethnic relationships does not mean that nationality languages have to lag behind. If we properly apply the Leninist policy on language it will be possible for all peoples to develop their languages. For example, the modern Kazakh language cannot be compared with what it was before the revolution. In its structure, the richness of its vocabulary and in its development, it is one of the refined nationality languages. We have acquired the possibility of studying the Kazakh heritage, of producing encyclopedias and writing a five-volume history of Kazakhstan in our native language.

The inclination of the Kazakh people to know and master the Russian language is well known. However, enough attention has not been devoted to teaching and instruction in the Russian language in many rural areas. At the same time, the level of language specialist training requires substantial improvement. In order to reconcile the representatives of many ethnic groups, according to the peculiarities of our republic, it is necessary that the people of the republic be taught somehow to respect other languages.

L. Kochetova: To achieve this we must devote attention to the broad propagandization of other languages. Knowing languages brings nationalities together and for this reason it is suitable to broaden our present capabilities for teaching other languages and to use them productively. We must seek to solve this problem beginning with kindergarten.

M. Qozybayev: The great Tolstoy understood when he said "language is the soul of a people."

Once we said nothing about needed levels of learning and teaching Kazakh, and were afraid of being considered nationalistic.

A. Qaydarov: This must arise because of misunderstanding. Once there were those who said "there is no use in teaching Kazakh." Such false conceptions have created barriers to the development of our mother tongue. This is not connected with our nationality policy as a whole but, to tell the truth, is the result of deficiencies in the work of organizations functioning in this area.

S. Nukenov: The primary organization of that sort in Kazakhstan is your own Linguistic Institute, and, in fact, a great deal of criticism has recently been made of it.

A. Qaydarov: To be sure, there will be difficulties at first regarding work begun on a very broad basis. There are many among the peoples living in the republic who have expressed the desire to learn Russian or Kazakh or perhaps other languages. Their levels of mastery of these languages are various. For this reason, we must first of all take into consideration the need for programs and methodological apparatus. There is a shortage of dictionaries, conversation manuals, and self-instruction aids. After the criticism expressed of the Linguistic Institute we have put our heads together with Kazakh and Russian language specialists and have taken advice from them. Work to be done in the future has been specified. However, writing texts needed

for languages is no easy matter. To meet the current need we plan to produce conversation manuals and self-study aids. Some 20 works are planned for the years 1988-89.

V. Awman: The tendency was observed, it is said, at a recent scientific-practical conference entitled "The Leninist Principles of the CPSU Nationalities Policy and Current Tasks of Internationalist Education" for representatives of each nationality to be concerned only about their own languages. For this reason Kazakh leaders have been charged with concern for development of the Russian language, and leaders of Russian and other nationalities with concern for the development of the Kazakh language. Various measures have been undertaken.

S. Nukenov: Two groups have been formed by the factory party committee for the learning and teaching of Kazakh. Lessons are now being given systematically. But there are many difficulties in connection with Russian. This is because most of those who work in the factory think that they know Russian and have expressed no interest whatever in studying it. But there is a great deal of uncertainty about their knowing Russian well. Whatever our scholars think, be that as it may, I think that the ability to write well is on the decline in whatever language. I completed school in the 1960's. When I saw some persons writing Russian incorrectly I was ashamed for the Russian language.

M. Qozybayev: There is not enough such shame among our young people and, frankly, among our teachers upholding language. A teacher at the Kustanay Pedagogical Institute has said: "Those who have chosen the specialty of being Russian teachers should be sent back to school for retraining." The primary cause of the deficiency is due to the schools. Whether it is Kazakh or Russian, teaching methods must be refined. In Tashkent, specialists for teaching Russian language in nationality schools are trained in a Russian language institute.

A. Qaydarov: One reason why Kazakh young people are in such a quandary is because they do not know Russian well enough. Many young people from the village seek out those who speak Kazakh and only mix with them. For this reason this question must be regarded as greatly significant. Language is a principal mode of intercourse between people. It is a bond linking the generations. A people preserves its history through language, and based upon language it passes from generation to generation. Ignorance of language cuts off a spiritual heritage.

/9365

CSO: 1832/0429



ALCOHOL SALES DOWN, MOONSHINE UP IN KAZAKHSTAN

Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh 7 May 87 p 4

[Article by V. Yevdokimov: "Let Us Struggle Mercilessly Against Moonshiners"]

[Excerpts] Whereas average sales of pure alcohol per capita were 6.61 liters in 1985, only 3.68 liters were sold in 1986. In Eastern Kazakhstan Oblast the reduction in sales of alcohol was even more, up to 62 percent. At first sight, without other figures forcing us to certain other conclusions, these results seem favorable.

Consumption of sugar has increased by 6.2 percent in the republic. What is this sugar being used for? To be sure it is not being used solely to add to tea or coffee or make sauces. In this regard, Alma-Ata City holds the record with 1986 sugar sales up 27.8 percent over 1985. Purchases were up 22.7 percent in Alma-Ata Oblast, 17.3 percent in Karaganda Oblast, and 14.6 percent in Pavlodar and Eastern Kazakhstan Oblasts.

There are other figures proving that moonshining is up and that an active struggle is being waged against it. Some 393 moonshine stills were seized last year in Kustanay Oblast--a record on its own.

KaSSR First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs C.O. Basarov has said that today alcoholism has mostly moved indoors. The number of alcoholics apprehended in public places has fallen, but fights and incidents in houses and drunkenness in houses has been increasing.

In recent days, he said, arrests of those causing disturbances and drunks in the republic capital have increased to twice the normal number of such arrests. Some 46 passers-by who consumed alcoholic beverages were stopped and some 72 persons were sent to detox units.

Figures showing the strengthening of the struggle against moonshiners are as follows: last year twice as many persons as in 1985 were subjected to criminal penalties for making dangerous beverages. Today, three times as many are being subjected to criminal penalties.

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CSO: 1832/0430

## DRUG CASES IN TASHKENT OBLAST DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 9 April 1987 carries on page 4 a 1,600-word article by T. Saydahmedov, Kalinin Rayon Prosecutor, and S. Abdushamayev, Tashkent Oblast journalist, entitled "Black Abyss" in which they discuss several cases involving drug addiction and dealing in Tashkent Oblast. He recalls that a newspaper article entitled "Drug Addicts" (2 November 1986) dealt with the case of Sunnat Sodiqov who was arrested during the "Black Opium" operation in Kalinin Rayon for his involvement in the growing of poppies. At the time, Sodiqov blamed the act on his neighbors Hakim Kenjaboyev and Usman Haydarov, both of whom died due to bad health and thus could not serve as witnesses. Militia Major K. Nurmanov, chief of the criminal prosecution department of Kalinin Rayon Internal Affairs Department, decided to drop the investigation, citing the lack of evidence. However, the rayon prosecutor reversed his decision and the investigation was resumed. Sodiqov repeatedly denied his guilt and claimed that some poppy seeds apparently got mixed in with alfalfa seeds. Sodiqov was sentenced to two years by the rayon people's court, expelled from the party, and recalled as a deputy from the Nazarbek Village Soviet.

The authors state that the "Black Opium" operation resulted in several other criminal prosecutions during the year. Investigators discovered that over 20 family fields were planted in poppies. Although Sodiqov's crop was hidden from public view because it was planted on low ground, a number of people planted 20-40 square meters of poppies in full view of their neighbors and local activists and officials. For example, A. Abdullayeva of Buzsuv Sovkhoz grew poppies on 1.5 satikhs of land and, when apprehended, tried to claim that she grew it for medicinal purposes. Action was taken against T. Asqarova of Urtaavul Settlement and T. Ismoilova and K. Yoldoshev of Khanabad Village for drug dealing and poisoning themselves and those around them. The authors ask why leaders of local soviets, farms, neighborhood committees, and social organizations are silent about the growing of poppies in courtyards, since they would be more likely to see it than the police.

The authors point out that cannabis plants (nasha and bangidevona) that grow in the wild can also cause addiction. However, local leaders have not taken steps to destroy these plants on farm territory. Children left unattended can eat the seeds and become poisoned, and teenagers can pick the plants, smoke it in secret, and become addicted to hashish. For example, R. Ahmedov, a hashish addict later tried and convicted, started out by gathering the leaves of the wild nasha-plant and rolling them into a ball. When arrested,

he possessed four such balls weighing a kilogram. Ahmedov was sentenced to two and one half years in a strict regime moral corrections labor colony. Another example is Z. Azimov who, after being expelled for bad behavior from the internat-school in Buka Rayon, wandered the streets where he learned how to gather nasna and smoke it. He was apprehended and tried last year. Kh. Murzayev, a student at the Railroad Transportation Tekhnikum in Khivas City of Syrdarya Oblast; V. Sarakhanov, an unemployed resident of Rakhimov Rayon of Tashkent City; S. Ashiraliyeva of Ordzhonikidze Rayon of Tashkent Oblast; O. Maslov, a driver for the Turist Auto Garage in Tashkent, and others were engaged in preparing, possessing, and transporting hashish (nasha) until they were arrested and tried in Kalinin Rayon.

The authors state that Sodiqov and the others were motivated to grow poppies for their opium which they could sell for a great deal of money. They cared nothing about the addiction of hundreds of people, the corruption of their morals, or the harm to society. Prosecutors and internal affairs workers formed special operational groups to combat drugs both through preventive measures and direct action. As a result, no new cases of drug dealing or addiction have been noted in the first months of this year.

#### UZBEK EXPERTS DISCUSS DRUG ABUSE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 15 April 1987 carries on page 4 a 1,200-word article entitled "Hallucinations" in which newspaper special correspondents U. Fayziyeva and Sh. Isroilov record a conversation between Professor Sh. Murtolipov, chairman of the Department of Psychiatry at Tashkent Institute for the Advanced Training of Physicians, Candidate in Medicine R. Shokiraliyev, chief narcologist at the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Health, and Candidate in Medicine N. Lokhanskiy, deputy chief of the Narcology Section of the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Health, on the causes and effects of drug addiction. Shokiraliyev discusses the case of a young man in his twenties named L. who was hospitalized for the second time. L. had done well in school and had a bright future. However, because he wanted to be popular he got involved with a gang and then became a "fan" of drugs. L. says that when he used "khanka," which is what they call "opium" (qoradori), he experienced an overwhelming feeling of joy. When he could not obtain it, the whole world seemed dull and lifeless to him. Consequently, he started borrowing and stealing money in order to buy the drug. After his arrest he went into withdrawal and suffered terribly. Following nearly two months of treatment in the hospital he was released. Shokiraliyev states that the growing incidence of addiction, particularly among teenagers, is alarming, and it is extremely difficult to restore their health. He points out that a distinction must be made between toxic substance abuse and drug abuse. Toxic substance abuse includes various pharmaceuticals, products used as fuels, and various ingredients of paint. Murtolipov adds that the latter type of addiction is especially prevalent among teenagers, and that there are indications this kind of abuse does not necessarily lead to drug addiction. Shokiraliyev points out that some addicts dissolve opium (qoradori) in water and either drink it or shoot it into a vein. Although at first they do so to escape from life's worries, gradually their bodies come to depend on the drug. According to him, the true addicts are widespread in the oblasts, and

boil the poppie extract (koknar) and drink it, and also smoke hashish (nasha). Murtolipov states that koknar and in general all narcotic substances react quickly on the organism and disrupt heart and blood functions. The heart beats rapidly, blood pressure rises, and muscles ache. When this happens, addicts believe that the only cure is more narcotics.

Lokhanskiy points out that drug addiction has been a neglected problem for a long time, but now services are expanding to deal with it. In March 1986 the narcology section was formed at the republic Ministry of Health to serve as the center for combatting drug addiction in the republic. Its specialists have toured various oblasts to investigate the situation and have found that very little is being done about the illegal cultivation of poppies by agroindustrial committees, and that hospitals are not set up to deal with drug addiction. Shokiraliyev adds that in the last year a special department was set up at his hospital to treat the abuse of toxic substances and drugs. Patients stay for two months, which is considered long enough to break their habit. The hospital has also treated addicted women, including girls who could have had a bright future as housewives: "You wonder why that is not enough for them?"

#### PROBLEMS FACING UZBEK CENSUS WORKERS DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 9 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,500-word interview conducted by UzTAG commentator Ye. Yefimov with M.K. Sodiqov, chief of the Uzbek SSR Central Statistical Administration, entitled "The Country's Great Questionnaire" in which Sodiqov discusses some of the problems facing workers preparing for the All-Union census. One problem to be resolved is the division of an area into territories with clear boundaries to ensure thorough coverage of each and thus the whole. However, some areal borders in Uzbekistan have never been clearly defined; e.g., the borders of the rural rayons that join Tashkent City. Clarification of such borders has been assigned to special commissions which were to divide areas into zones and, in cooperation with executive committees of local soviets, confirm boundary lines. However, thus far, this work has been completed only in Andizhan, Bukhara, and Khorezm Oblasts.

Sodiqov points out that census takers will have to rely on detailed maps and plans of settlements, but so far such maps and schemes have been drawn up for only one out of every ten cities. Moreover, cartographic materials often do not meet demands or do not depict changes of recent years. Most unfortunately, the names of numerous streets and roads are not registered, the address of various farms is unknown, and many buildings lack numbers. Streets are named properly in only one-third of republic settlements, and quarters, apartment complexes, and houses are numbered in only one-fourth of its cities. If local administrations do not take action soon, census takers will encounter insurmountable difficulties in Navoi, Almalyk, and many cities of Surkhandarya Oblast. Executive committees of local soviets and the republic Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services are responsible for correcting this, but are too busy blaming each other to carry out the task.



REFORM OF UZBEK SCHOOLS URGED TO IMPROVE STUDY OF RUSSIAN

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 19 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by A. Khudayberganov, PRAVDA VOSTOKA observer, scientific associate of the All-Union Branch of the Scientific Research Institute of Vocational and Technical Education: "A Bridge to the Future"]

[Text] Along with the revolution, the Russian language made its way into the Uzbek land--the language of the great Lenin, in which he proclaimed the decree concerning peace, the decree concerning land, and the declaration of the rights of the peoples of Russia. Along with the revolution and our fraternal Russian language came the possibility for the peoples of the awakening East to share the achievements not only of Russian, but of world science and culture.

Our republic's achievements in advancing culture are especially noticeable. Before the revolution, as we know, only one newspaper and no more than 40 books with an overall circulation of about 80,000 copies were published. And only 2-3 percent were literate at that time. Now in the 42 higher educational institutions of the republic there are about 300,000 students and in the 9,352 schools there are up to 4.5 million children.

The CPSU Program adopted at the 27th Party Congress said: "In the future, there must be free development and equal utilization of native languages by all citizens of the USSR" and further on--"mastering the Russian language in addition to their own national language, which is done voluntarily by the Soviet people as a means of international communication, expands access to the achievements of science, technology and domestic and world culture." Thus the development of a culture in our society which is socialist in content and multinational in form is organically linked to the functioning of various languages and the indispensable utilization of the Russian language as the main instrument for international communication. Knowledge of it is extremely necessary, especially for youth who are just entering life.

What is the situation with respect to our mastery of Russian? There are alarming symptoms. There are more frequent indications from military commissariats that Uzbek youth of draft age do not know the Russian language well enough and this, to a certain degree, makes it difficult for them to master military skills. Notifications are also coming from industrial enterprises, VUZes, tekhnikums and SPTU's, that show that the youth of the

indigenous nationality are experiencing great difficulties in mastering vocational knowledge and skills because of their inadequate knowledge of the Russian language. And yet now almost all technical literature is published in Russian. And it does not do much good to translate into the national language, say, the technology for adjusting flexible automated productions or programming computers with their special technical lexicon. In order to rapidly find a place in the priority areas of scientific and technical progress, it is necessary to know Russian well. It is impossible to form a national detachment of the working class without mastery of the Russian language by the broad masses.

The situation, I repeat, is fairly serious. Behind all this lies a tendency that has taken root in the past--to pass off what is desired for what is real, say, to falsify reports for tons of nonexistent cotton, or to report the number of people who have improved their knowledge of Russian. It would be a mistake to think that a radical improvement in international linguistic relations can be achieved only through festivals of literature and art, tours of artistic collectives, and other one-time measures.

The true figures are as follows: during the period between the two censuses the growth of the population in Uzbekistan was 35.5 percent and during that same time the number of schoolchildren studying in the Russian language decreased by 9.1 percent (the data were taken from observations made in 1965 in comparison to the 1970's). At the same time the opposite picture can be seen in almost all other union republics!

The question naturally arises: "Perhaps this is what the parents desire?" No, and again no. During a large-scale sociological investigation, more than 79 percent of the Uzbeks expressed a need for a thorough mastery of the Russian language. The example given in the report at the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan is profoundly characteristic: the Central Committee received letters from 200 families, mainly Uzbek living in the area of the Tashkent State Medical Institute, which persistently requests that a Russian school be opened up for their children, and they have not been able to achieve this for a long time. One can imagine how critical this issue is if the parents are forced to turn to the Central Committee. Another question is also predictable: how much longer will the bureaucrats resist and oppose these objective tendencies which are now demanding new, immediate and effective measures?

Extensive sociological research conducted in the country has shown that the basic function in the matter of studying the Russian language should be performed by the schools. And this is understandable, since in the secondary PTU's, tekhnikums and certainly in VUZes literally from the first days of study there is the question of mastery of professional knowledge. And most of the materials on this subject in the textbooks, training aids and reference works have been translated into the Russian language. Inadequate knowledge of the Russian language in many cases leads, on the one hand, to a loss of interest in studying, disenchantment, a lack of confidence in one's abilities, and an increased dropout rate. On the other hand, under conditions of the previously prevailing unprincipled approach to evaluating knowledge and obsession with percentages, this led to graduating specialists with an

inadequate level of training and to the loss of the prestige of educational institutions.

Under the conditions that had been created, the question of radically improving the teaching of the Russian language in the national schools became especially critical. Obviously, there is a real need to develop a comprehensive program for studying the Russian language in the national schools of the republic. It is necessary to analyze all the work experience in this area that has been accumulated in previous years. It will be necessary to radically restructure and train educators who are called upon to teach the Russian language in national schools. This is a serious and critical issue which requires an immediate resolution. An essential role in developing this program will be played by the newly established divisions of Russian language and literature in the Institute of Language and Literature. I emphasize that they are newly established, since it was necessary for the Central Committee to intervene in order to stop the bureaucrats who were abolishing them because they were "unnecessary."

The inadequate work with youth directed toward mastering all the wealth of Russian speech which opens up an immense field of activity for applying fresh young forces contributes to the formation of those blank areas which religious people try to fill quickly. There are tapes and videocassettes with religious content in circulation and religious rites and traditions are becoming widespread among the youth.

But can one really compare the pure, musical language of Pushkin, the pathos and living force of Gorkiy's words, the clarity and grandeur of Lenin's speech with the incomprehensible muttering from the doleful prayers of the Koran? Undoubtedly every young person prefers the former. And it is necessary to do everything possible so that they will be given this opportunity.

This is precisely the point of one of the pivotal provisions of the reform of the general educational and vocational school which asserts that "fluent mastery of the Russian language should be the norm for youth who have completed secondary educational institutions." Only the complete realization of this formula in the work practice of all educational institutions will make it possible for every young person to become a real citizen and worker, a real participant in the restructuring. Because the Russian language for our socialist reality is the bridge to the future, the bridge that provides the opportunity to go far.

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CSO: 1830/527

CONSTRUCTION OF DAM TO PROTECT LENINGRAD FROM FLOODS DISCUSSED

Official Favors Construction

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Feb 87 p 12

[Article by N. Vlasov, chief hydraulic engineer of Lenmorzashchita ["Leningrad Sea Protection"] Administration, Lenin Prize Laureate, under the "Nature and We" rubric: "Incompetence"; first paragraph is LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] "Let Us Give the Sea Back to Leningrad"--thus was entitled Engineer V. Kamburov's letter about construction of the sea dam in the Gulf of Finland to protect the city from floods. V. Kamburov's concern that the dam's construction may lead to a number of undesirable phenomena has aroused a lively response, and not just from the people of Leningrad--letters come from the most diverse places: None are indifferent. However, not all are in agreement with the engineer's opinion....

Information about the dam's construction in the press and at conferences of various kinds has been varied. As a result of incompetent reporting of the problem, questions arise for the reader and listener.

In October 1986, at the Fifth All-Union Hydrological Congress in Leningrad, Academician A. Yanshin threw the assembly into confusion with the contradictoriness of his address concerning the dam. And in June 1986, at a visiting session of the RSFSR Writers Union's governing secretariat, Academician D. Likhachev stated literally the following: "I wish to call attention to the fact that... creation of the dam at Leningrad (a ruinous dam--and every citizen of Leningrad knows it) is being effected in secret from the public, the press, and science. And these cover-ups of a secret are very reminiscent of certain secret organizations of Sicily." There you have the sort of information from speaker's rostrums.

"To broadcast" is a very serious matter, and the problem requires, I emphasize, specialized knowledge.

How can one talk about any kind of secret, when the participants in the construction, and there are thousands of these, the collectives of Leningrad's industrial, design, scientific research, construction, and transport



organizations, are united by a contract for the creative and production cooperation to erect the system! A coordinating council under the Lengorispolkom has been functioning since the beginning of construction, examining technical and production matters, about which the newspaper VECHERNIY LENINGRAD has been informed constantly, at its meetings.

To avoid spurious arguments in the future, I wish to lend some clarity to the problem, which may have been scantily covered in the press by the specialists directly involved in the designing, research, and construction work.

Leningrad and floods are concepts closely associated with each other. Let us recall the history. In all, 3 months had passed from the day of St. Petersburg's founding, when a large flood occurred. During the night of 30-31 August 1703, the water rose by 200 and some centimeters, and scattered the building materials readied for constructing the Peter and Paul Fortress like splinters. Since that time, the Neva River has made its destructive attacks on the city over 300 times.

There are no grounds for assuming that the Neva River and the sea have reached the limit of their power, and will not raise the water level higher than 4 meters.

Given such a situation, the flagship of Leningrad's industry, the renowned "Kirov Plant" Association; the leading domestic shipbuilding enterprise, the "Admiralty Association"; the Baltic Plant; the Plant imeni Zhdanov; the immense grounds of the Leningrad Maritime Port; etc., will turn out to be in the flood zone.

It is impossible to enumerate all of the structures in the city that represent historical and artistic value. The Russian Museum and the Hermitage, the Admiralty and the Winter Palace, the Academy of Arts, the Summer Garden, the Peter and Paul Fortress, and 11 metro stations need protection from floods--yes, essentially the entire make-up of the old city!

And one is amazed when Engineer Kamburov appeals from the pages of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, "Let Us Give the Sea Back to Leningrad!"

Discussions about the floods' causes basically boil down to the conclusion that the floods' main cause is the wind. This traditional viewpoint has been refuted. The wind is just an accomplice in the "crime," if one may express it so. The cause lies in something else. Leningrad, situated on low and flat shores, is in the path of cyclones, usually coming from Scandinavia. These cyclones, in passing over the sea, drag beneath them, as it were, large masses of water from the sea's entire expanse, and haul these along to the head of the Gulf of Finland. When a cyclone goes ashore, the water "driven by it" spreads to all sides. The so-called long wave, forming in the Baltic, reaches Leningrad rapidly. Its height, naturally, increases with its approach to the narrowest and shallowest areas. And the Neva River--a short channel, connecting Lake Ladoga with Neva Bay--cannot support such a powerful head. During a flood, therefore, it rises literally before your eyes.

People often ask: How did the work on the design proceed?

In the protection system's development, 52 organizations took part. The technical design underwent careful examination by experts of the USSR Gosplan, the Gosstroy [State Committee for Construction Affairs], and a number of ministries before it was approved by the USSR Council of Ministers.

A number of proposed versions was rejected at the very outset. Gradually, two possible versions took shape: a western one--construct the protective system at the boundary of Neva Bay and the Gulf of Finland--and an eastern one--erect the protective works directly in the mouth of the Neva River and at the sea walls. The western version was preferred. Its chief merit--reliability.

The soundness of the proposed solutions was checked by leading scientists and specialists of the country in the fields of ecology, construction, engineering surveys, and economics at all design stages. The technical and economic justification took up 15 volumes. It was approved in 1970. The technical design, presented 5 years later, occupied about 200 volumes of total design and scientific documents.

Will not the protective works affect the environment?

Worry and alarm are expressed in a substantial fraction of the letters. Yes, differing viewpoints indeed exist on this, inasmuch as any unconsidered tampering with nature turns out to have unpredictable consequences. Therefore, hydrologists, physicians, ichthyologists, geologists, hydraulic engineers, economists, and other specialists were recruited to resolve this issue. They carried out careful and extensive examinations according to a specially developed program, and made a forecast for the future: The system of works will not exert a negative influence on the Neva Bay water area. They confirmed the basic hydrological data established as the design's starting point, and the correctness of the placement and sizes of vessel and water passage works, as well as the validity of the decisions made in the course of construction.

The protective works' effect on fish migration worries many people, especially fishermen. I insist with all authority--there is no such effect.

During a period of additional research (1981 to 1985), the "Lenmorzashchita" Administration received regular information about the state of the water's quality in Neva Bay from 140 stations for observations of ecological conditions, and kept the progress of the construction work, including that of the work associated with the causeway to Kotlin Island as well, under control.

Some people attempt to talk about violation of the technical design by the builders. In reality, this is not so. All measures have been taken jointly with the designers, according to a forecast developed in advance and taking the construction situations' effect upon Neva Bay's hydrologic cycle into account. If anyone tries to represent the temporary change in the hydrologic cycle as an unexpected, irreversible occurrence, this is a misconception. It is equally the fault of the builders and the client--they delayed clearing away the cofferdams for half a year. Today flow distribution between the northern and southern gates is close to the natural. Through the northern

gates pass 1,400 cubic meters of water per second, instead of 1,600. In comparison with 1984, changes in ecological indices essentially have not occurred. The variations are within the limits of error tolerated during the observations.

Therefore, there are no grounds whatsoever to make an argument about the builders' "arbitrariness" and "irreversible" phenomena; the situation has been controlled and is being controlled.

However, unfounded arguments and rumors of various kinds persist. Under these circumstances, on the initiative of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom the Lengorispolkom, and the Journalists Union, a press conference was held in November, directly at the construction sites, with scientists, specialists, and the builders, and these told about the state of affairs on the construction project in detail, and answered numerous questions of journalists and writers.

Yes, at the press conference there also was talk about insufficient openness [glasnost] in coverage of the protective works' construction, even by the local Leningrad newspapers and magazines. Right now, having failed to keep abreast of the construction project's execution, some doubters are trying to grasp bygone events after the fact, if only by the tail. But they are too late. Here is an excerpt from the State Hydrological Institute's certification of the water environment's condition in October 1986: "The conditions were stable in Neva Bay and the northern gates on the whole, and water quality and the ecological situation in the vicinity of the gates were determined by the anthropogenic burden from Leningrad and water system elements located upstream."

An Interdepartmental Scientific Council for the Neva Problem, which cooperates closely with the USSR Academy of Sciences Leningrad Scientific Center's Scientific Council for Environmental Problems and the Commission for Environmental Protection under the Lensovet ispolkom, was created to ensure scientific leadership in the work's coordination. The progress in carrying out research, the basic scientific results of the research, and problems for further research have been discussed annually at joint meetings.

Modeling results, including those using a constructed and activated large-scale general hydraulic model of the Neva River's delta and Neva Bay, as well as on-site observations and theoretical calculation studies, have convinced us again that carrying out the project for protecting Leningrad from floods arouses no fears from the hydrological and ecological points of view (taking the execution of nature-protecting measures in the Neva Basin into account). So, the words spoken by S. M. Kirov, in his time, to Professor S.A. Sovetov, a participant in the project developments, will be appropriate: "Be bolder, bolder, professor; you will not win the argument with all doubting scientists. You have begun a great and necessary work."

Besides its primary function--protecting the cities from floods--the works will permit solving a number of national economic problems of paramount importance--an opportunity is created to utilize the city's low-lying coastal territories for locating new housing construction--connecting the shores of

Neva Bay, and completing a circumferential highway around Leningrad (This will permit clearing the city streets of through transport, particularly truck transport, and significantly improving the city's air mass). Engineering solutions will permit improving the flow of water in the coastal zones by manipulating the water passage works' gates.

December 1986 began with floods. There were three during a week, of which the last, on 6 December, raised the water in the Neva by 260 centimeters. According to the Leningrad Hydrometeorological Center's calculations, the water's rise in the city should have reached the 302-centimeter mark.

So far, no other factors that influenced the rise's reduction have been discovered, except the now existing outline of the works for protecting Leningrad from floods. This, you see, is also an argument.

The probability of a catastrophic flood increases with each year, and a delay in construction may turn into great tragedies.

#### Arguments Against Dam

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Feb 87 p 12

[Letters to the editors: "Concerned Opinions"]

[Text] A scientist: One cannot begin the execution of a major engineering project that affects the ecology of an entire region without having carried out an academic research program.

Academician N. Moiseyev: One must return to the matter's history in order to understand where the mistake was made. In 1977, at a representative scientific conference in Leningrad, the water resources problems of the country's northwestern oblasts were examined. The matter of the hydraulic engineering works also was discussed. At what conclusion did the conference arrive? Not a single major engineering project that affects the ecology of a substantial region may be brought into being until an academic research program has been carried out. Such a program, based on interdisciplinary cooperation, with the Academy of Sciences' participation, was not carried out in Leningrad.

Hence it is clear that one cannot make an evaluation of the project now. This would be immoral without the results of the research.

The carrying out of an academic program of basic research requires 2 or 3 years. Construction should be delayed for precisely that period in order to have the chance to make a decision at the state level.

Captain of Distant Navigation: No one seriously thought about practical navigation, or the dam's effect on the ice situation.

Boris Romanov, managing secretary of the Novgorod Writers Organization, captain of distant navigation: For 5 months out of the year, the port operates



under ice conditions, but no one asked the icebreaker crewmen about the dam's possible effect on the ice situation either (but an ice barrier will form on the western side of the dam, including at the ship passage--ship handlers know what this means--and there will be ice accumulation on the eastern side during ice drifting on the Neva), and this inevitably will have a negative effect on the port's operation. I personally even foresee the possibility of the port's blockage when there is an accident in the ship passage.

No one seriously thought about practical navigation through the dam (intensity, sizes of ships, speeds of movement), which inevitably--and in the worst way--will be reflected in the productivity of the port's operation. There were no questions or official inquiries to seamen in this regard.

A journalist: They say--"The reading audience has not been prepared." But what kind of preparation can be talked about in the absence of information?

M. Kononov: Do our builders know about the impending ills? Absolutely. And once again they are making a request for the next "acceleration": It seems that the second half of the dam must be poured first, and then the passage of the water ensured.

In any event, that special position, the right to which the builders of the dam have gained for themselves, causes amazement. How do they manage to ignore the opinions of scientists or delay the fulfillment of their obligations to ensure people's safety and health?

When the public raises the question of openness and the necessity to inform the population about changes in the ecological situation occurring in the territory of the city and oblast, they usually answer us: The reading audience has not been prepared. But what kind of preparation can be talked about in the absence of information? For the residents of neighboring countries, even the quality of the water being consumed by them has long been the subject of general attention and discussion. Among us, one has only to touch upon the most vital questions of ecology, and departmental obstacles arise like an impenetrable "dam." Is this not the reason for the most distorted rumors and assumptions and the skeptical attitude toward the activity of the press organs that are trying to propagandize the ecological knowledge, often without the facts and figures. The impression is formed among the readers that we are afraid, not so much of the actual phenomena as of the disagreeable figures. These, meanwhile, nevertheless spread beyond the circle of persons designated for them.

Chief of Piloting Service: This will be risky navigation in the most difficult fairways.

V. Shuvalov, chief of the Leningrad Port Piloting Service: The beginning of the disagreement between maritime fleet specialists and the authors of the protective works project is properly ascribed to the 1970's, when we posed a question about the need to straighten out the maritime channel in Neva Bay.

This probably would have led to some cost increase for the construction, but it would have paid for itself fully in safety of navigation, and would have provided assistance in the fleet's development and the shipbuilding industry's growing needs.

Having placed an argument--to reduce the construction work's cost to the maximum extent--at the base of proofs of their correctness, the project's authors came out the winners in resolving this issue: Navigation at Leningrad will remain in the very difficult Kronshtadt Fairways, which do not provide for proper safety.

A writer: The purification works should be built faster than the dam. So far, everything is the other way round.

A. Liverovskiy: The situation is disastrously worsening because of the lagging of the purification works' construction rates behind those of the hydraulic engineering works. The Gosstroy and the Minsudkhkh (Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources) have set earlier construction of the purification works as a basic condition for coordinating these projects. This most important condition has been thoughtlessly--to say the least--ignored since the very first days of the hydraulic engineering works' erection: Work has been accelerated in every possible way on the hydraulic engineering works, and the purification stations have fallen behind. The disparity between the schedules for construction completion now has been determined to be 2 years (1993 and 1995 respectively), and has a tendency to increase.

12319

CSO: 1800/707

ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE BY KIRISHI PLANT ASSESSED

Public Protest Forces Closing

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by I. Sidorov: "The Air Must Be Clean!"; first paragraph is LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Kirishi -- Yesterday at exactly 1100 hours Chief Sanitation Physician of the Kirishskiy Rayon A. Pudyakov sealed the cut-off plate on the paraffin feed line of the Kirishi Biochemical Plant. "Anatoliy Pavlovich, are you closing it for a long time?" I asked. "We are going to fight to close it forever..."

After having observed the shutdown, the plant's chief engineer Yu. Davydov, incidentally, asserted that the retooling of the enterprise would make it possible to reduce the release of air and water pollutants "to safe levels"...

On the eve of this event, on June 1, Protection of Children Day, at the initiative of the community more than five thousand Kirishians went to the young city's central square to express their feelings about the "Biokhima" problem. To tell the truth, it was an amazing sight. Men and women, one after the other, ascended to the rostrum and spoke with anguish about the enormous harm the plant has inflicted and is inflicting upon the health of the local residents, particularly the children. Responding the questions from the city residents were First Secretary of the Kirishi Party Gorkom I. Koltsov and Chairman of the gorsoviet ispolkom N. Drobyazko. The participants of the meeting unanimously adopted a resolution which demanded that this plant which is so dangerous to the people be removed from the Kirishi area.

The hazard of the protein-vitamin concentrate plant has already been confirmed to me in non-emotional, concise, and strict terms by the city's physicians. Their data indicate that the discharge of wastes from the protein-vitamin concentrates into the air are causing severe allergies and a marked lowering of natural immunity against diseases. Of course all of the data will have to be thoroughly verified and a complete and objective picture of the city residents' health will have to be prepared. This is in fact the reason that a Ministry of Health commission has been working here at the request of the USSR

Council of Ministers. A. Sklyarov, the commission chairman and chief of the industrial hygiene department of the USSR Ministry of Health Main Administration for Sanitation and Epidemiology, said:

"It is still too early to voice any medical opinions. Generally, in the field of science one must not draw hasty conclusions. Considerable work is being done with statistics and we are examining not only patients but all persons desiring to be examined. But we already have several qualms about the Leningrad scientific community. Such institutes as the Sanitation-Hygiene Institute, the Pediatric Institute, and the Institute for the Advanced Training of Physicians offered very few practical recommendations even though they had been following the situation. One thing is clear so far. A plant cannot and must not operate in such a state."

...For the first time in a long time the air in the city is comparatively clean. It simply has the air of late spring. Will it always be like that? I asked Chairman of the Kirishi gorispolkom N. Drobyazko about that:

"Today the ispolkom is sending a letter to the Ministry of the Biology Industry requesting that the plant be retooled so that it produces goods that are ecologically safe. However, yesterday's meeting clearly demonstrated that the city residents do not have faith in a department which could not correct the situation over a twelve-year period. Supported by the direct will of the Kirishians, we shall insist upon the retooling of the Biochemical Plant."

Thus, the plant's operations have come to a halt. The problem now awaits a solution.

#### Plant Operation History Examined

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 June 87 p 3

[Article by LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent I. Sidorov: "A Cloud Over a White City"; first paragraph is correspondent's introduction]

[Text] Kirishi -- Before I begin this report I would like to make one general comment. During the Environmental Protection Days we frequently reported how nature was being protected and wrote about nature lovers. Today I propose another discussion for the reader, but not because there are fewer nature lovers. On the contrary, today there are more people than ever before who are joined by the common purpose of preserving and creating conditions on our planet that are fit for human habitation. But if we are to be frank about the situation, after the experiences of Priozersk, after the recognized threat hanging over Ladoga, and after the publication of party documents that describe all of this with unadulterated truth, it would be tactless and irresponsible to write only about successes. Today is a time for other thoughts.

...A woman on the plank board rostrum spoke into a microphone:



Comrades, I propose the following resolution: We demand the retooling [pereprofilirovaniye] of the Kirishi Biochemical Plant so that its products are ecologically safe. Who is for the resolution?"

And over five thousand Kirishians, in the light of the low sunset, simultaneously raised their hands. The day before yesterday we already reported this meeting of Kirishians that took place at the initiative of the community. Why then, one might ask, do we return to that meeting once again? I am doing that because the event at the central square of the young city represents the intersection of this report's two themes, the "technological" and human.

The history of the Kirishi Biochemical Plant has already been described in the Leningrad press. I shall repeat it briefly: The plant was opened in 1975 and has been producing cattle feed supplements and protein-vitamin concentrates, abbreviated PVC. The enterprise was planned and built on the assurance from specialists that PVC is a fully safe product. But hundreds of allergy cases among the Kirishi residents resulted from the plant's operation in its first year. Alarmed by this turn of events, medical personnel in the city found that the concentrate was a powerful allergen...

Work then began on reducing the discharge of harmful substances. Not so surprisingly, that effort did not result in a lowered morbidity among the citizenry. Another strong outbreak occurred in 1982 when a second wing of the plant was put into operation. Physicians had good reasons to believe that the substances released into the air from this new plant were somehow acting as a catalyst and potentiating the effect of the PVC... Specialists also believe that after a year's exposure to this allergen, people become sensitized, i.e., they become increasingly sensitive to that substance. The principal target of the PVC turned out to be children. According to the testimony of the city residents, many children would start to suffocate when the wind brought the plant wastes to Kirishi. It is painful to write about this, but a week before the plant was shut down, several children died.

We shall not make a peremptory judgment about this. This requires an assessment by qualified individuals and a special commission of the Ministry of Health presently working in Kirishi will have its say.

But why did this tragic story last 12 years? Why wasn't the plant shut down sooner?

"I can show you documents," wearily said the rayon's chief sanitation physician A. Pudyakov. The sanitation services halted the enterprise's operation no less than a dozen times... But each time it was unalterably put under the strong pressure of the Ministry of the Medical and Biology Industry."

I shall say frankly that anyone familiar in detail with the story of the Priozersk Paper Pulp and Kirishi Biochemical Plants would find the question -- why not sooner? -- to be inane. Surely, all these years there were people who were struggling against this hazard without sparing any efforts and placing themselves at risk. But we must remember that as early as 15 years ago,

environmental pollution was mentioned only as it applied to "somewhere abroad," whereas everything was "in order" in our country. And the interests of the plan and the interests of a powerful press barrage suppressed those who would raise their voice in defense of nature.

Today is a time of harsh truth. This does not mean that the outcome of each struggle in every specific instance must automatically be predetermined in favor of the conservationists. It is not that simple. The departments are as strong as before and their arguments are resourceful. The chief engineer of the Biokhima plant Yu. Davydov reported that it has now been four years that the plant "has not exceeded the maximum concentrations of harmful substances permitted by the Ministry of Health." The authorized representative of the Northwestern Regional Inspectorate for Air Protection G. Semchenko who participated in the shutdown of the plant said: "What kind of permissible concentrations can there be for allergens? For some people one molecule of an allergen is enough to bring about an asthmatic attack!" "But we have a document," stubbornly objected the plant engineer." And to be sure, it is a document... And the representative of the Ministry of the Biomedical Industry L. Denisov, offended by the presence of the press during the closing of the plant, maliciously jested:

"Egg yolks are the most severe allergens. Does that mean that an order should also go out banning the sale of eggs?"

Yes, there are still those who talk like that, but those persons have little hope of winning out. And although the plant is considered to be closed "for retooling" by virtue of an order issued by USSR Minister of the Biomedical Industry V. Bykov, it will now not be so easy for this powerful department to have its own way.

The plant has been shut down. The city has categorically declared: Proteins must no longer be produced here.

But if were to stop the report there, that would be far from the whole truth.

On May 1 Kirishians on their way to demonstrate on Lenin Prospekt, saw standing on one of the streets their fellow resident V. Khitrin with a portrait of his son who had just died.

On the next day a hand-written announcement appeared on the grounds of GRES-19 that called upon all those who are concerned with the ecological situation to meet at the Palace of Culture.

The announcement was not left in place long. Someone hastened to take it down. But it played the role of a tiny crystal cast into a saturated solution. At the beginning of May there was a meeting of a small group of Kirishni residents, primarily young engineers, who were clearly aware of the need to shut down the Biokhima plant. On May 21 several hundred citizens met at the Palace of Culture to lend their support.

That very five thousand-person meeting with which I began this report was the culmination of the vigorously increasing wave of public opinion action.

One might then ask: Why was the meeting necessary? After all, a decision had already been made to halt PVC production as of June 2. There would be no sense in revealing today that the initiating group did not, to put it mildly, get any support for their ideas those days from the Kirishi Party Gorkom or the gorispolkom. The day before First Secretary of the CPSU gorkom I. Koltsov firmly told me:

"We believe that the holding of that kind of mass meeting is inadvisable."

And every person I talked to at the gorkom and ispolkom used that evasive word "inadvisable." They emphasized with confidence that one could never tell what the outcome of such an act would be..."

The young people of the initiating group clearly explained their position. They were attempting to cut off any "end-runs" by the department after having confronted them with a clear demonstration of the citizens' will. Well, it seems they were successful in that effort. Without getting into polemics with the newspaper SMENA which mentioned that the group "had the support of some citizens," I would recall that the resolution calling for the retooling of the plant was unanimously supported by the citizenry. The following figure probably also tells us a lot: The letter sent to Moscow was signed by 9,400 persons... The city supervisors conducted themselves somewhat differently on the next day.

"We have received considerable public support," said the chairman of the Kirishi gorispolkom, N. Drobyazko, "and we are now obligated to carry out the wishes of our fellow citizens..."

The initiating group, now in its full complement, poured into the local branch of the Society for Nature Protection. Young engineers would become its ex-officio inspectors.

Specialists said frankly: "These are the kind of energetic, dynamic assistants we need." So then, did everything turn out to "everyone's mutual satisfaction"? I would think that the true defenders of nature will still have to undergo quite a few difficulties just because they are dynamic and irrepressible. But we know that last June 1 the last of the speakers, the petroleum refinery worker A. Kozlov, said to an approving roar:

"Comrades, this meeting was possible only because of the openness to which the party has summoned us..."

I would like to draw two principal conclusions as I end this report. I came to the first conclusion as I was walking on a warm moon-lit night along the tree-lined streets of this remarkable white city where it would seem that people could live happily and where they have known such grief. For me Kirishi is a living symbol of the collapse of the old economic and technological approaches when "one could not expect benefits from nature" and when it was thought that one should reap everything today without any thought to what tomorrow will bring. That "tomorrow" has already come here and it has a menacing look.

And one more thought: Nature conservation and the protection of the well-being of our common home today is a process that has gone beyond the departmental offices. Theoretically, all of us accept that idea, although it is still with some difficulty that it is put into practice. But our goal is the same.

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CSO: 1800/719



KASSR TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS REVIEWED

Alma-Ata QAZAQSTAN KOMMUNISI in Kazakh No 2, Feb 87 pp 69-71

[Editorial: "Kazakhstan Transport and Communications in the 12th 5-Year Plan"]

[Excerpts] Transportation and communications are extremely important sectors of material production. Various organizational and technical measures were carried out in republic rail transport, which accounts for 90 percent of freight turnover and 28 percent of passenger movement, during the last 5-year plan. The goal of raising freight turnover in the people's economy by 12.2 percent by 1990, of increasing freight turnover to 376.5 million tons and passenger turnover by 6.2 percent, raising it to 16.6 billion passenger kilometers, has been placed before rail transport workers. In connection with this, growth in labor productivity of railroads cannot be less than 10.6-12.8 percent.

According to the 5-year plan, 60 percent of funding will be devoted to rebuilding production bases at the Arys, Dzhambul, Shu, Semipalatinsk, Qazaly, and Tselinograd stations, and, based upon technical restructuring, to developing railroads and to increasing their transmission and turnover capacities. Likewise, 883 kilometers of second and feeder lines will be built, 1,484 kilometers of main line electrified and installation of automatic switching systems for these lines and centralized dispatching control will be carried out.

Motor transport, used generally by the people, accounts for 56.6 percent of republic freight turnover and 52 percent of passenger turnover. In terms of these basic technical-economic showings, the KASSR is in third place, behind the RSFSR and the UkSSR.

Motor bus transportation in rural areas has developed considerably. An additional 496 bus routes have been established. City and intercity bus routes now embrace 9,000 cities, towns, settlements, and villages. Some 99.8 percent of the republic's population lives in these places. Some 2,500 sovkhoses and kholkhozes (99.4 percent) have direct bus connection with rayon centers, and 1,700 enterprises (68.5 percent) with oblast centers. The total length of bus routes exceeds 450,000 kilometers and 9 million passengers are moved along them each year.

During the 12th 5-Year Plan annual freight carried will reach 723 million tons, and it is planned to increase freight turnover by 22.5 percent. Passenger turnover will grow 18 percent during the 5 years and reach 36.5 billion passenger-kilometers.

Intercity transport of passengers, movement by bus, trolleys and trams, will continue to develop at a rapid pace. In the nine cities already having tram and trolley services, this sector will continue to develop. Trolley service will begin in Kustanay City and construction of a system will begin in Semipalatinsk. In the future plans will be made for such service at Ekibastuz, at the financial expense of the miners' city.

Construction of the Alma-Ata subway will begin during the 5-year plan. During 1987 funding is being allotted for carrying out preparatory work. Some 10 million rubles has just been allotted for creating a subway construction base.

The material and technical base for the republic motor transport road system is being strengthened and further expanded. At the beginning of the 5-year plan the motor transport roads in general use amounted to 96,100 kilometers of which 78,000 kilometers or 81.2 percent (USSR average 78 percent) is paved. The amount of paved motor roads is being increased by 5,700 kilometers and will reach 83,700 kilometers by the end of 1990.

Each year during the 5-year plan 14-15,000 kilometers of road will be repaired. Likewise, in order to ensure that major highways are properly supported, projects to serve travelers and drivers moving along them and for the technical maintenance of motor transport will be increased and expanded.

Pipeline transport is being further developed. During the 5-year plan construction of the petroleum products Travniki-Kustanay-Amanqaraghay line and the Petropavl-Kokshetau-Tselinograd line, with a Kokshetau-Volodar Branch, will be completed and work will be begun on a Kuybyshev-Uralsk line.

In connection with an increase of oil and gas processing during the 5-year plan, a 1,304 kilometer Tenghiz-Guryev-Astrakhan-Groznyy Line is being built and construction is to be completed in 1988. It is planned to build a Tenghiz-Qulsary, Maqat-Astrakhan-Northern Caucasus (one branch will be directed toward Guryev), a Zhargazhol-Kengkiyaq-Oktyabrsk-Aktyubinsk, and a Gazli-Chimkent gas pipeline.

In addition, construction of an Astrakhan-Qulsary-Manghyshlaq drinking water pipe with a Qulsary-Tenghiz branch and a Sanates-Qarazhambas-Qalamqas line has begun. The Qulsary-Tenghiz line for industrial water was put into use in 1986.

The length of air transportation lines has reached 75,500 kilometers, with 46,500 kilometers of local lines within this. In terms of passengers (7.4 million in 1985) and freight movement, and likewise in terms of chemical treatment of agricultural and forest areas, Kazakh air transport is in third place in the Soviet Union behind the RSFSR and the UkSSR.

Airports and terminals are operating in the republic equipped with the latest aviation technology and modern airport equipment. The local air transport network continues to expand. The Kazakh Civil Aviation Administration is fulfilling its plan goals in all basic showings.

City airports of Alma-Ata, Karaganda, Semipalatinsk, and Aktyubinsk are receiving modern airliners of the Il-86 and Il-62 models. You will see Tu-154 or Tu-134 aircraft at other airports of the republic. Some 19 local air connection airports receive An-24's and Yak-40's and 8 airports L-410 aircraft. The airport system will continue to be expanded in the future and passenger movement will go on rising. Air connections have been established between Kzyl-Orda and Ekibastuz and Moscow.

During the 12th 5-Year Plan some 20 million rubles of complex funds will be expended on development of local air connections in Kazakhstan. An airport will be built in Turghay in Turghay Oblast, airports will be expanded at Yrghyz in Aktyubinsk Oblast and in the cities of Taldy-Kurgan and Kzyl-Orda and they will be reequipped.

In spite of water shortage and an associated limitation of shipping connections, river transport has been successfully fulfilling plans for moving the freight and passengers of the people's economy and for freight loading and unloading. According to the 5-year plan, it is planned by 1990 to increase the amount of freight carried to 10.6 million tons. This will be 12 percent more than in 1985.

A broadly developed system of communications media has been constructed in the republic. There are 11.9 telephones (USSR average 14.3) per every 100 inhabitants in the cities and 5.4 telephones per every 100 inhabitants in rural areas (USSR 5.1). Some 92 percent of the population is provided with television and there are 31.3 radio points per 100 persons. For every 10,000 persons 3.6 postal enterprises (USSR average 3.3) are serving.

In 1985, every 100 families had 100 televisions and 105 radio receivers.

The number of pay phones per 10,000 inhabitants of cities is being increased to 12.7 (USSR--15.3).

Per capita goods turnover by "Soyuzpechat" is being increased to 11.8 rubles (USSR average 12.4 rubles). Each person buys on the average 1.4 newspapers and magazines (USSR 1.4).

In the future it is planned to build a 580,000-number city automated telephone exchange, work 1.9-fold greater than during the 11th 5-Year Plan. To this end, 75 percent of telephones to be put into use will be installed in residential housing.

It is planned to put into use 4,300 kilometers of intercity line and 3,500 kilometers of radio line and telephone line will be increased by 1.576 million kilometers or by 63.4 percent. This will make it possible to increase the share of automatic intercity telephone calls to 67 percent and on an oblast.

basis to guarantee supplementary intercity automatic connections to 60 rayon centers and cities.

Intercity telephone exchanges are being built in Karaganda, Chimkent, and Oskemen cities. A similar station will be expanded in Alma-Ata. Intercity automated telephone systems will be expanded 3.7 fold, reaching 3,400.

At present all rural and village soviets and sovkhoses and kholkhozes of the republic have telephone connections.

Figures for television coverage are 90.1 percent for the No 1, All-Union Channel (USSR 93.2 percent), 81.8 percent (USSR 82.3 percent) for a second and other channels. Kazakh television programming is seen by 79.3 percent of the people.

Radio houses are being built in eight oblasts. The equipment-studio complex of the television center in Alma-Ata is being expanded. A similar complex is being built in Aktyubinsk City.

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